



J. Hall sculp.

PETER THE GREAT,
CZAR OF MOSCOVY.

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
NOTES, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL,
AND EXPLANATORY.

By T. FRANKLIN, D.D.
Chaplain to his Majesty, and late Greek Professor in
the University of Cambridge.

T. SMOLLETT, M.D.
AND OTHERS.

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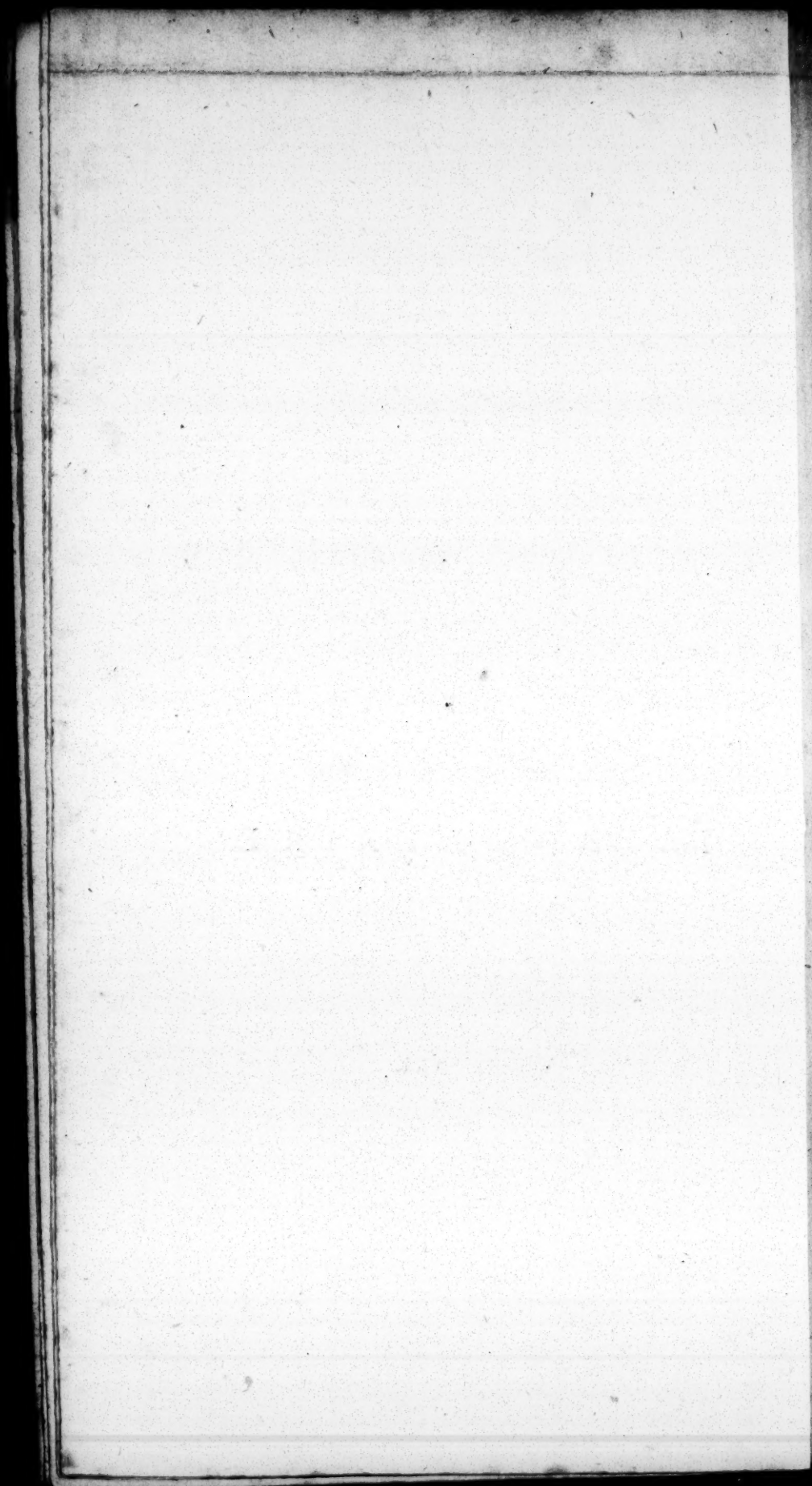
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M^r. D E V O L T A I R E.

V O L. X X L.



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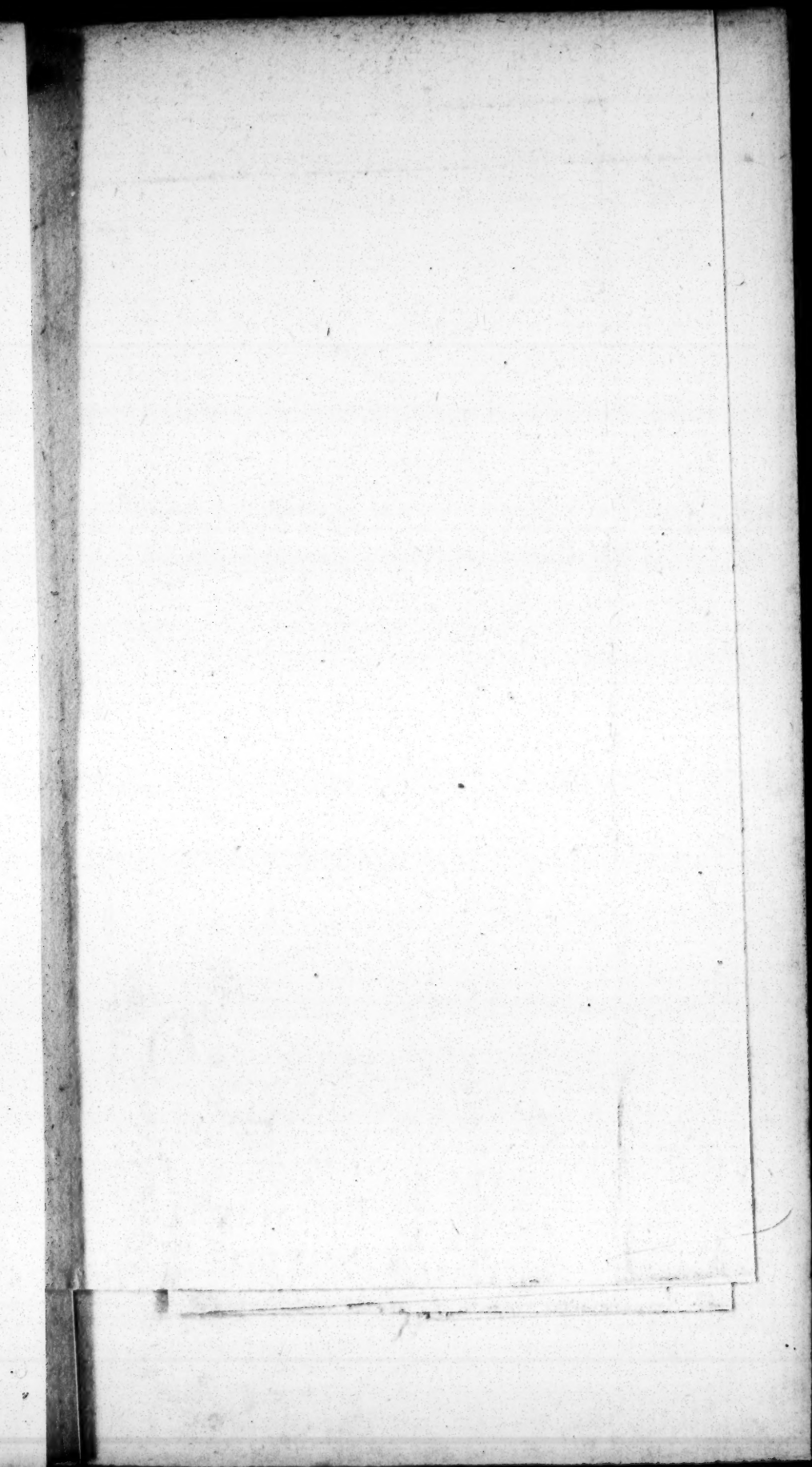
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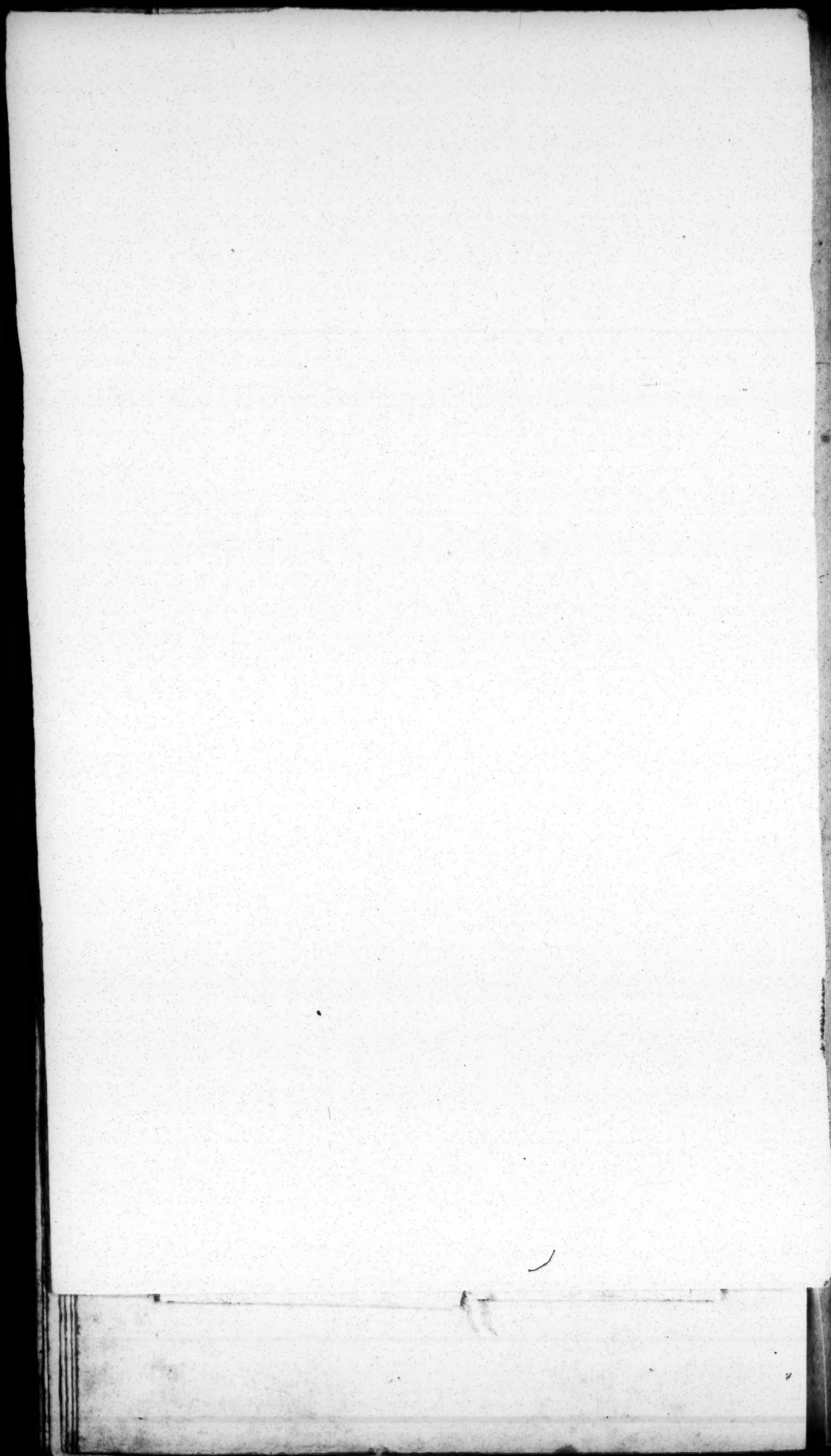
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE under PETER the
GREAT.

P A R T II.

C H A P. II.

Conclusion of the Affairs of PRUTH.

IT is necessary in this place to repeat an event already related in the history of Charles XII. It happened during the suspension of arms which preceded the treaty of Pruth, that two Tartarian soldiers surprized and took prisoners two Italian officers belonging to the czar's army, and sold them to an officer of the Turkish janissaries. The vizir being informed of this breach of public faith, punished the two Tartars with death. How are we to reconcile this severe delicacy with the violation of the laws of nations in the person of Tolstoy the czar's ambassador, whom this very vizir caused

B

to

to be arrested in the streets of Constantinople, and afterwards imprisoned in the castle of the Seven Towers? There is always some reason for the contradictions we find in the actions of mankind. Baltagi Mahomet was incensed against the khan of Tartary, for having opposed the peace he had lately made, and was resolved to shew that chieftain that he was his master.

The treaty was no sooner concluded, than the czar quitted the borders of the Pruth, and returned towards his own dominions, followed by a body of 8000 Turks, whom the vizir had sent as an army of observation to watch the motions of the Russian army during its march, and also to serve as an escort or safeguard to them against the wandering Tartars which infested those parts.

Peter instantly set about accomplishing the treaty, by demolishing the fortresses of Samara and Kamienska; but the restoring of Asoph, and the demolition of the port of Tangaroc, met with some difficulties in the execution. According to the terms of the treaty it was necessary to distinguish the artillery and ammunitions which belonged to the Turks in Asoph before that place was taken by the czar, from those which had been sent thither after it fell into his hands. The governor of the place spun out this affair to a tedious length, at which the Porte was greatly incensed, and not without reason: the Sultan was impatient to receive the keys of Asoph. The vizir promised they should be sent from time to time, but the governor always found means to delay the delivery of them. Baltagi Mahomet lost the good graces of his master, and with them his place. The khan
of

of Tartary and his other enemies made such good use of their interest with the sultan, that the grand vizir was deposed, and several bashaws were disgraced at the same time; but the grand seignor, well convinced of this minister's fidelity, did not deprive him either of his life or estate, but only sent him to Mytilene to take on him the command of that island.

This simple removal from the Nov. 1711. helm of affairs, and the continuing to him his fortunes, and above all, the giving him the command in Mytilene, sufficiently contradicts all that Norberg has advanced to induce us to believe that this vizir had been corrupted with the czar's money.

Norberg asserts furthermore, that the Bostangi bashaw, who came to divest him of his office, and to acquaint him of the grand seignor's sentence, declared him at the same time, "a traitor, one who had disobeyed the orders of his sovereign lord, had sold himself to the enemy for money, and was found guilty of not having taken proper care of the interests of the king of Sweden." In the first place, these kind of declarations are not at all in use in Turkey: the orders of the grand seignor always being issued privately, and executed with secrecy. Secondly, if the vizir had been declared *a traitor, a rebel, and a corrupted person*, crimes of this nature would have been instantly punished with death in a country where they are never forgiven. Lastly, if he was punishable for not having sufficiently attended to the interests of the king of Sweden, it is evident that this prince must have had such a degree of influence at the Ottoman Porte, as to have

made the other ministers to tremble, who would consequently have endeavoured to gain his good graces ; whereas, on the contrary, the bashaw Jussuf, aga of the janissaries, who succeeded Mahomet Baltagi as grand vizir, had the same sentiments as his predecessor, in relation to Charles's conduct, and was so far from doing him any service, that he thought of nothing but how to get rid of so dangerous a guest ; and when count Poniatoski, the companion and confidant of that monarch, went to compliment the vizir on his new dignity, the latter spoke to him thus : " Pagan, I forewarn thee, that if ever I find thee hatching any intrigues, I will upon the first notice cause thee to be thrown into the sea with a stone about thy neck."

This compliment count Poniatoski himself relates in the memoirs which he drew up at my request, and is a sufficient proof of the little influence his master had in the Turkish court. All that Norberg has related touching the affairs of that empire, appear to come from a prejudiced person, and one who was very ill informed of the circumstances he pretends to write about. And we may count among the errors of a party-spirit and political falsehoods, every thing which this writer advances unsupported by proofs, concerning the pretended corruption of a grand vizir, that is, of a person who had the disposal of upwards of sixty millions per annum, without being subject to the least account *. I have now before me the letter which count Poniatoski wrote to king Stanislaus immediately after the

* French money, which is always counted by livres, and makes about three millions sterling.

signing the treaty of Pruth, in which he upbraids Baltagi Mahomet with the slight he shewed to the king of Sweden, his dislike to the war, and the unsteadiness of his temper ; but never once hints the least charge of corruption, for he knew too well what the place of grand vizir was, to entertain an idea that the czar was capable of setting a price upon the infidelity of the second person in the Ottoman empire.

Schaffirow and Sheremetow, who remained at Constantinople as hostages on the part of the czar for his performance of the treaty, were not used in the manner they would have been if known to have purchased this peace, and to have joined with the vizir in deceiving his master. They were left to go at liberty about the city, escorted by two companies of janissaries.

The czar's ambassador Tolstoy having been released from his confinement in the Seven Towers, immediately upon the signing the treaty of Pruth, the Dutch and English ministers interposed with the new vizir to see the several articles of that treaty put into execution.

Asoph was at length restored to the Turks, and the fortresses mentioned in the treaty were demolished according to stipulation. And now the Ottoman Porte, though very little inclinable to interfere in the differences between christian princes, could not without vanity behold himself made arbitrator between Russia, Poland, and the king of Sweden ; and insisted that the czar should withdraw his troops out of Poland, and deliver the Turkish empire from so dangerous a neighbour ; and desirous that the christian princes might continually be at war with each other,

wished for nothing so much as to send Charles home to his own dominions, but all this while had not the least intention of furnishing him with an army. The Tartars were still for war, as an artificer is willing to seize every opportunity to exercise his calling. The janissaries likewise wished to be called into the field, but more out of hatred against the christians, their naturally restless disposition, and from a fondness for rapine and licentiousness, than from any other motives. Nevertheless the English and Dutch ministers managed their negotiations so well, that they prevailed over the opposite party: the treaty of Pruth was confirmed, but with the addition of a new article, by which it was stipulated, that the czar should withdraw his forces from Poland within three months, and that the su'tan should immediately send Charles XII. out of his dominions.

We may judge from this new treaty whether the king of Sweden had that interest at the Porte which some writers would have us to believe. He was evidently sacrificed on this occasion by the new vizir bashaw Jussuf, as he had been before by Baltagi Mahomet. The historians of his party could find no other expedient to colour over this fresh affront, but that of accusing Jussuf of having been bribed like his predecessor. Such repeated imputations, unsupported by any proofs, are rather the clamours of an impotent cabal, than the testimonies of history. But faction, when driven to acknowledge facts, will ever be endeavouring to alter circumstances and motives; and unhappily it is thus that all the histories of our times will be handed down to posterity

posterity so altered, that they will be unable to distinguish truth from falsehoods.

C H A P. III.

Marriage of the czarowitz. The marriage of Peter and Catharine publicly solemnized. Catharine finds her brother.

THIS unsuccessful campaign of Pruth proved more hurtful to the czar than ever the battle of Narva was ; for after that defeat he had found means not only to retrieve his losses, but also to wrest Ingria out of the hands of Charles XII. but by the treaty of Falksten, in which he consented to give up to the sultan his forts and harbours on the Palus Mæotis, he for ever lost his projected superiority in the Black Sea. He had besides an infinite deal of work on his hands ; his new establishments in Russia were to be perfected, he had to prosecute his victories over the Swede, to settle king Augustus firmly on the Polish throne, and to manage affairs properly with the several powers with whom he was in alliance ; but the fatigues he had undergone having impaired his health, he was obliged to go to Carelsbad * to drink the waters of that place. While he was there he gave orders for his troops to enter Pomerania, who blockaded Stralsund, and took five other towns in the neighbourhood.

Pomerania is the most northern province of Germany, bounded on the east by Prussia and Poland, on the west by Brandenburg, on the south by Mecklenburg, and on the north by the

* A town in Bohemia famous for its mineral springs.

Baltic sea. It has changed masters almost every century : Gustavus Adolphus got possession of it in his famous thirty years war, and it was afterwards solemnly ceded to the crown of Sweden by the treaty of Westphalia, with a reservation of the little bishopric of Camin, and a few other small towns lying in Upper Pomerania. The whole of this province properly belongs to the elector of Brandenburg, in virtue of a family compact made with the dukes of Pomerania, whose family being extinct in 1637, consequently by the laws of the empire the house of Brandenburg had an undoubted right to the succession ; but necessity, the first of all laws, occasioned this family-compact to be set aside by the treaty of Osnabrug ; after which almost the whole of Pomerania fell to the lot of the victorious Swedes.

The czar's intention was to wrest from Sweden all the provinces that crown was possessed of in Germany ; and, in order to accomplish his design, he found it necessary to enter into a confederacy with the electors of Hanover and Brandenburg and the king of Denmark. Peter drew up the several articles of the treaty he projected with these powers, and also a complete plan of the necessary operations for rendering him master of Pomerania.

In the mean while he went to Torgau to be present at the nuptials of his son
 Octob. 23, the czarowitz Alexis with the
 1711. princess of Wolfenbuttle, sister to
 the consort of Charles VI. emperor of Germany ; nuptials, which in the end
 proved

proved fatal to his own peace of mind, and to the lives of the unfortunate pair.

The czarowitz was born of the first marriage of Peter the Great with Eudocia Lapoukin, to whom he was espoused in 1689: she was at this time shut up in the monastery of Susdal; their son Alexis Petrowitz, who was born the 1st of March 1690, was now in his 22d year. This prince was not then at all known in Europe: a minister, whose memoirs of the court of Russia have been printed, says, in a letter he writes to his master, dated August 25, 1711, that "this prince was tall and well-made, resembled his father greatly, was of an excellent disposition, very pious, had read the Bible five times over, took great delight in the ancient Greek historians, appeared to have a very quick apprehension and understanding, was well acquainted with the mathematics, the art of war, navigation, and hydraulics; that he understood the German language, and was then learning the French, but that his father would never suffer him to go through a regular course of study."

This character is very different from that which the czar himself gives of his son some time afterwards, in which we shall see with how much grief he reproaches him with faults directly opposite to those good qualities for which this minister seems so much to admire him.

We must leave posterity therefore to determine between the testimony of a stranger, who may have formed too slight a judgment, and the declaration of a parent, who thought himself under a necessity of sacrificing the dictates of

nature to the good of his people. If the minister was no better acquainted with the disposition of Alexis than he seems to have been with his outward form, his evidence will have but little weight; for he describes this prince as tall and well-made, whereas the memoirs sent me from Petersburg say that he was neither one nor the other.

His mother-in-law Catherine was not present at his nuptials; for though she was already looked upon as czarina, yet she had not been publicly acknowledged as such; and moreover, as she had only the title of highness given her at the czar's court, her rank was not sufficiently settled to admit of her signing the contract, or to appear at the ceremony in a station befitting the consort of Peter the Great. She therefore remained at Thorn in Polish Prussia. Soon after the nuptials were celebrated, the czar sent the new-married couple away to Wolfenbuttel, and brought back the czarina to Petersburg with that dispatch and privacy which he observed in all his journies.

Jan. 9, 1712
Feb. 19, 1712.] Having now disposed of his son, he publicly solemnized his own nuptials with Catharine, which had been declared in private before. The ceremony was performed with as much magnificence as could be expected in a city but yet in its infancy, and from a revenue exhausted by the late destructive war against the Turks, and that which he was still engaged in against the king of Sweden. The czar gave orders for, and assisted himself in, all the preparations for the ceremony, according to his usual custom; and Catharine was now publicly

licly declared czarina, in reward for having saved her husband and his whole army.

The acclamations with which this declaration was received at Petersburg were sincere: the applauses which subjects confer on the actions of a despotic sovereign are generally suspected; but on this occasion they were confirmed by the united voice of all the thinking part of Europe, who beheld with pleasure on the one hand the heir of a vast monarchy with no other glory than that of his birth, married to a petty princess; and, on the other hand, a powerful conqueror, and a law-giver, publicly sharing his bed and his throne with a stranger and a captive, who had nothing to recommend her but her merit: and this approbation became more general as the minds of men grew more enlightened by that sound philosophy which has made so great a progress in our understandings within these last forty years; a philosophy, equally sublime and discerning, which teaches us to pay only the exterior respect to greatness and authority, while we reserve our esteem and veneration for shining talents and meritorious services.

And here I think myself under an obligation to relate what I have met with touching this marriage in the dispatches of count Bassewitz, Aulic counsellor at Vienna, and long time minister from Holstein at the court of Russia; a person of great merit, and whose memory is still held in the highest esteem in Germany. In some of his letters he speaks thus: "The czarina had not only been the main instrument
" of procuring the czar that reputation which he
" enjoyed, but was likewise essentially necessary

“ in the preservation of his life. This prince
“ was unhappily subject to violent convulsion-
“ fits, which were thought to be the effects of
“ poison which had been given him while he
“ was young. Catharine had alone found the
“ secret of alleviating his sufferings by an un-
“ wearied assiduity and attention to whatever
“ she thought would please him, and made it
“ the whole study of her life to preserve an
“ health so valuable to the kingdom and to her-
“ self, insomuch, that the czar finding he could
“ not live without her, made her the compa-
“ nion of his throne and bed.” I here only
repeat the express words of the writer him-
self.

Fortune, which has furnished us with many extraordinary scenes in this part of the world, and who had raised Catherine from the lowest abyss of misery and distress to the pinnacle of human grandeur, wrought another extraordinary incident in her favour some few years after her marriage with the czar, and which I find thus related in a curious manuscript of a person who was at that time in the czar’s service, and who speaks of it as a thing to which he was eye-witness.

An envoy from king Augustus to the court of Peter the Great, being on his return home through Courland, and having put up at an inn by the way, heard the voice of a person who seemed in great distress, and whom the people of the house were treating in that insulting manner which is but too common on such occasions: the stranger, with a tone of resentment, made answer, that they would not dare to use him thus, if he could but once get to the
speech

speech of the czar, at whose court he had perhaps more powerful protectors than they imagined.

The envoy, upon hearing this, had a curiosity to ask the man some questions, and from certain answers he let fall, and a close examination of his face, he thought he found in him some resemblance of the empress Catharine; and when he came to Dresden, he could not forbear writing to one of his friends at Petersburg concerning it. This letter, by accident, came to the czar's hands, who immediately sent an order to prince Repnin, then governor of Riga, to endeavour to find out the person mentioned in the letter. Prince Repnin immediately dispatched a messenger to Mittau in Courland, who, on enquiry, found out the man, and learned that his name was Charles Scavronsky; that he was the son of a Lithuanian gentleman, who had been killed in the wars of Poland, and had left two children then in the cradle, a boy and a girl, who had neither of them received any other education than that which simple nature gives to those who are abandoned by the world. Scavronsky, who had been parted from his sister while they were both infants, knew nothing further of her than that she had been taken prisoner in Marienbourg, in the year 1704, and supposed her to be still in the household of prince Menzikoff, where he imagined she might have made some little fortune.

Prince Repnin, agreeable to the particular orders he had received from the czar, caused Scavronsky to be seized, and conducted to Riga, under pretence of some crime laid to his charge; and to give a better colour to the matter, at his arrival

arrival there, a sham information was drawn up against him, and he was soon after sent from thence to Petersburg, under a strong guard, with orders to treat him well upon the road.

When he came to that capital, he was carried to the house of an officer of the emperor's palace named Shepleff, who having been previously instructed in the part he was to play, drew several circumstances from the young man in relation to his condition; and, after some time, told him, that although the information, which had been sent up from Riga against him, was of a very serious nature, yet he would have justice done him; but that it would be necessary to present a petition to his majesty for that purpose; that one should accordingly be drawn up in his name, and that he (Shepleff) would find means that he should deliver it into the czar's own hands.

The next day the czar came to dine with Shepleff at his own house, who presented Scavronsky to him; when his majesty, after asking him abundance of questions, was convinced, by the natural answers he gave, that he was really the czarina's brother: they had both lived in Livonia when young, and the czar found every thing that Scavronsky said to him, in relation to his family-affairs, to tally exactly with what his wife had told him concerning her brother, and the misfortunes which had befallen her and her brother in the earlier part of their lives.

The czar, now satisfied of the truth, proposed the next day to the empress to go and dine with him at Shepleff's; and when dinner was over, he gave orders, that the man whom he had

had examined the day before, should be brought in again. Accordingly he was introduced, dressed in the same cloaths he had worn while on his journey from Riga, the czar not being willing that he should appear in any other garb than what his unhappy circumstances had accustomed him to.

He interrogated him again in the presence of his wife; and the MS. adds, that, at the end, he turned about to the empress, and said these very words, "This man is your brother; come hither, Charles, and kiss the hand of the empress, and embrace your sister."

The author of this narrative adds further, that the empress fainted away with surprize; and that when she came to herself again, the czar said to her, "There is nothing in this but what is very natural. This gentleman is my brother-in-law; if he has merit, we will make something of him; if he has not, we must leave him as he is."

I am of opinion, that this speech shews as much greatness as simplicity, and a greatness not very common. My author says, that Scavronsky remained a considerable time at Shepleff's house; that the czar assigned him a handsome pension, but that he led a very retired life. He carries his relation of this adventure no further, as he made use of it only to disclose the secret of Catherine's brother: but we know, from other authorities, that this gentleman was afterwards created a count; that he married a young lady of quality, by whom he had two daughters, who were married to two of the principal noblemen in Russia. I leave to those who may be better informed of the particulars, to distinguish what

what is fact in this relation, from what may have been added, and shall only say, that the author does not seem to have told this story out of a fondness for entertaining his readers with the marvellous, since his papers were not intended to be published. He is writing freely to a friend about a thing of which he says he was an eye-witness. He may have been mistaken in some circumstances, but the fact itself has all the appearance of truth; for if this gentleman had known that his sister was raised to so great dignity and power, he would not certainly have remained so many years without having made himself known to her. And this discovery, however extraordinary it may seem, is certainly not more so than the exaltation of Catharine herself; and both the one and the other are striking proofs of the force of destiny, and may teach us to be cautious how we treat as fabulous, several events of antiquity, which perhaps are less contradictory to the common order of things, than the adventures of this empress.

The rejoicings made by czar Peter for his own marriage, and that of his son, were not of the nature of those transient amusements, which exhaust the public treasure, and are presently lost in oblivion. He completed his grand foundery for cannon, and finished the admiralty buildings. The highways were repaired, several ships built, and others put upon the stocks; new canals were dug, and the finishing hand put to the grand warehouses, and other public buildings, and the trade of Petersburg began to assume a flourishing face. He issued an ordinance for removing the senate from Moscow to Petersburg, which was executed in the month of

of April 1712. By this step he made his new city the capital of the empire, and early he employed a number of Swedish prisoners in beautifying this city, whose foundation had been laid upon their defeat.

C H A P. IV.

Taking of S T E T I N.

Descent upon FINLAND. Events of the year
1712.

PETER, now seeing himself happy in his own family, and in his state, and successful in his war against Charles XII. and in the several negotiations which he had entered into with other powers, who were resolved to assist him in driving out the Swedes from the continent, and cooping them up for ever within the narrow isthmus of Scandinavia, began to turn his views entirely towards the north-west coasts of Europe, not laying aside all thoughts of the Palus Mæotis, or the Black Sea. The keys of Asoph, which had been so long withheld from the bashaw, who was to have taken possession of that place for the sultan his master, were now given up; and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the king of Sweden, the intrigues of his friends at the Ottoman Porte, and even some menaces of a new war on the part of the Turks, both that nation and the Russian empire continued at peace.

Charles XII. still obstinate in his resolution not to depart from Bender, tamely submitted his
hopes

hopes and fortunes to the caprice of a grand vizir; while the czar was threatening all his provinces, arming against him the king of Denmark, and the elector of Hanover, and had almost persuaded the king of Prussia, and even the Poles and Saxons, to declare openly for him.

Charles, ever of the same inflexible disposition, behaved in the like manner towards his enemies, who now seemed united to overwhelm him, as he had done in all his transactions with the Ottoman Porte; and from his lurking place in the deserts of Bessarabia, defied the czar, the kings of Poland, Denmark, and Prussia, the elector of Hanover (soon afterwards king of England) and the emperor of Germany, whom he had so greatly offended, when he was traversing Silesia with his victorious troops, and who now shewed his resentment, by abandoning him to his ill-fortune, and refused to take under his protection any of those countries, which as yet belonged to the Swedes in Germany.

It would have been no difficult matter for him to have broken the league which was forming against him, would he have consent-
 1712 ed to cede Stetin in Pomerania, to Frederick (the first) king of Prussia, and elector of Brandenburg, who had a lawful claim thereto; but Charles did not then look upon Prussia as a power of any consequence; and indeed neither he, nor any other person, could at that time foresee, that this petty kingdom, and the electorate of Brandenburg, either of which were little better than deserts, would one day become formidable. Charles therefore would not listen to any proposal of accommodation, but, determined rather to take all than give up
 any

any thing, sent orders to the regency of Stockholm, to make all possible resistance both by sea and land : and these orders were obeyed, notwithstanding that his dominions were almost exhausted of men and money. The senate of Stockholm fitted out a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, and every person capable of bearing arms came voluntarily to offer their service: in a word, the inflexible courage and pride of Charles seemed to be infused into all his subjects, who were almost as unfortunate as their master.

It can hardly be supposed, that Charles's conduct was formed upon any regular plan. He had still a powerful party in Poland, which, assisted by the Crim Tartars, might indeed have desolated that wretched country, but could not have replaced Stanislaus on the throne ; and his hopes of engaging the Ottoman Porte to espouse his cause, or convincing the divan, that it was their interest to send 10 or 12,000 men to the assistance of his friends, under pretence that the czar was supporting his ally Augustus in Poland, was vain and chimerical.

Sept. 1712.] Nevertheless, he continued still at Bender, to wait the issue of these vain projects, while the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, were over-running Pomerania. Peter took his wife with him on this expedition. The king of Denmark had already made himself master of Stade, a sea-port town in the duchy of Bremen, and the united forces of Russia, Saxony, and Denmark, were already before Stralsund.

Oct. 1712.] And now king Stanislaus, seeing the deplorable state of so many provinces, the impossibility of his recovering the crown of Poland,

Poland, and the universal confusion occasioned by the inflexibility of Charles, called a meeting of the Swedish generals, who were covering Pomerania with an army of 11,000 men, as the last resource they had left in those provinces.

When they were assembled, he proposed to them to make their terms with king Augustus, offering himself to be the victim of this reconciliation. On this occasion, he made the following speech to them in the French language, which he afterwards left in writing, and which was signed by nine general officers, amongst whom happened to be one Patkul, cousin-german to the unfortunate Patkul, who lost his life on the wheel by the order of Charles XII.

“ Having been hitherto the instrument of
 “ procuring glory to the Swedish arms, I cannot think of proving the cause of their ruin.
 “ I therefore declare myself ready to sacrifice the
 “ crown, and my personal interests, to the preservation of the sacred person of their king, as
 “ I can see no other method of releasing him
 “ from the place where he now is.”

Having made this declaration (which is here given in his own words) he prepared to set out for Turkey, in hopes of being able to soften the inflexible temper of his benefactor, by the sacrifice he had made for him. His ill-fortune would have it, that he arrived in Bender at the very time that Charles, after having given his word to the sultan, that he would depart from Bender, and having received the necessary remittances for his journey, and an escort for his person, took the mad resolution to continue there, and opposed a whole army of Turks and Tartars, with only his own domestic

metics. The former, tho' they might easily have killed him, contented themselves with taking him prisoner. At this very juncture, Stanislaus arriving, was seized himself; so that two Christian kings were prisoners at one time in Turkey.

At this time, when all Europe was in commotion, and that France had just terminated a war equally fatal against one part thereof, in order to settle the grandson of Lewis XIV. on the throne of Spain, England gave peace to France, and the victory gained by Marshal Villars at Denain in Flanders saved that state from its other enemies. France had been for upwards of a century the ally of Sweden, and it was the interest of the former that its ally should not be stripped of his possessions in Germany. Charles unhappily was at such a distance from his dominions, that he did not even know what was transacting in France.

The regency of Stockholm, by a desperate effort, ventured to demand a sum of money from the French court at a time when its finances were at so low an ebb, that Lewis XIV. had hardly money enough to pay his household-servants. Count Sparre was sent with a commission to negotiate this loan, in which it was not to be supposed he would succeed. However, on his arrival at Versailles, he represented to the marquis de Torci the inability of the regency to pay the little army which Charles had still remaining in Pomerania, and which was ready to break up and disperse of itself on account of the long arrears due to the men; and that France was on the point of beholding the only ally she had left, deprived of those provinces which were so necessary

cessary to preserve the balance of power; that indeed his master Charles had not been altogether so attentive to the interests of France in the course of his conquests as might have been expected, but that the magnanimity of Lewis XIV. was at least equal to the misfortunes of his royal brother and ally. The French minister, in answer to this speech, so effectually set forth the incapacity of his court to furnish the requested succours, that count Sparre despaired of success.

It so happened however, that a private individual did that which Sparre had lost all hopes of obtaining from the court. There was at that time in Paris a banker named Samuel Bernard, who had accumulated an immense fortune by making remittances for the government to foreign countries, and other private contracts. This man was intoxicated with a species of pride very rarely to be met with from people of his profession. He was immoderately fond of every thing that made an *éclat*, and knew very well that one time or another the government would repay with interest those who hazarded their fortune to supply its exigencies. Count Sparre went one day to dine with him, and took care to flatter his foible so well, that before they rose from table the Banker put 600,000 livres * into his hand; and then immediately waiting on the marquis de Torci, he said to him, "I have lent the crown of Sweden 600,000 livres in your name, which you must repay me when you are able."

* About 50,000 l. sterling.

Count Steinbock, who at that time commanded Charles's army in Pomerania, little expected so seasonable a supply; and seeing his troops ready to mutiny, to whom he had nothing to give but promises, and that the storm was gathering fast upon him, and being moreover apprehensive of being surrounded by the three different armies of Russia, Denmark, and Saxony, desired a cessation of arms, on the supposition that Stanislaus's abdication would soften the obstinacy of Charles, and that the only way left him to save the forces under his command, was by spinning out the time in negotiations. He therefore dispatched a courier to Bender, to represent to the king of Sweden the desperate state of his finances and affairs, and the situation of the army, and to acquaint him that he had, under these circumstances, found himself necessitated to apply for a cessation of arms, which he should think himself very happy to obtain. The courier had not been dispatched above three days, and Stanislaus was not yet set out on his journey to Bender, when Steinbock received the 600,000 livres from the French banker above-mentioned; a sum which was at that time an immense treasure in a country so desolated. Thus unexpectedly reinforced with money, which is the grand panacea for all disorders of state, Steinbock found means to revive the drooping spirits of his soldiery; he supplied them with all they wanted, raised new recruits, and in a short time saw himself at the head of 12,000 men, and dropping his former intention of procuring a suspension of arms, he sought only for an opportunity of engaging the enemy.

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This was the same Steinbock, who, in the year 1710, after the defeat at Pultowa, had revenged the Swedes on the Danes by the eruption he made into Scania, where he marched against and engaged them with only a few militia, whom he had hastily gathered together, with their arms flung round them with ropes, and totally defeated the enemy. He was like all the other generals of Charles XII. active and enterprising; but his valour was sullied by his brutality; as an instance of which it will be sufficient to relate, that having, after an engagement with the Russians, given orders to kill all the prisoners, and perceiving a Polish officer in the service of the czar who had caught hold of King Stanislaus's stirrup, then on horseback, in order to save his life, he (Steinbock) shot him dead with his pistol in that prince's arms, as has been already mentioned in the life of Charles XII. and King Stanislaus has declared to the author of this history, that had he not been withheld by his respect and gratitude to the king of Sweden, he should immediately have shot Steinbock dead upon the spot.

Dec. 9, 1712.] General Steinbock now marched by the way of Wismar to meet the combined forces of the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, and soon found himself near the Danish and Saxon army, which was advanced before that of the Russians about the distance of three leagues. The czar sent three couriers, one after another, to the king of Denmark, beseeching him to wait his coming up, and thereby avoid the danger which threatened him if he attempted to engage the Swedes with an equality

lity of force; but the Danish monarch not willing to share with any one the honour of a victory which he thought sure, advanced to meet the Swedish general, whom he attacked near a place called Gadebusch. This day's affair gave a further proof of the natural enmity that subsisted between the Swedes and Danes. The officers of these two nations fought with most unparalleled inveteracy against each other, and neither side would desist till death terminated the dispute.

Steinbock gained a complete victory before the Russian army could come up to the assistance of the Danes, and the next day received an order from his master Charles to lay aside all thoughts of a suspension of arms, who, at the same time upbraided him for having entertained an idea so injurious to his honour, and for which he told him he could make no reparation, but by conquering or perishing. Steinbock had happily obviated the orders and the reproach by the victory he had gained.

But this victory was like that which had formerly brought such a transient consolation to king Augustus, when in the torrent of his misfortunes he gained the battle of Calish against the Swedes, who were conquerors in every other place, and which only served to aggravate his situation, as this of Gadebusch only procrastinated the ruin of Steinbock and his army.

When the king of Sweden received the news of Steinbock's success, he looked upon his affairs as retrieved, and even flattered himself with hopes to engage the Ottoman Porte to declare for him, who at that time seemed disposed to

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come

come to a new rupture with the czar ; full of these fond imaginations, he sent orders to general Steinbock to fall upon Poland, being still ready to believe, upon the least shadow of success, that the day of Narva, and those in which he gave laws to his enemies, were again returned. But unhappily he too soon found these flattering hopes utterly blasted by the affair of Bender, and his own captivity amongst the Turks.

The whole fruits of the victory at Gadebusch were confined to the surprising in the night-time, and reducing to ashes the town of Altena, inhabited by traders and manufacturers, a place wholly defenceless, and which not having been in arms, ought by all the laws of war and nations to have been spared ; however, it was utterly destroyed, several of the inhabitants perished in the flames, others escaped with their lives, but naked, and a number of old men, women, and children, perished with cold and the fatigue they suffered, at the gates of Hamburgh. Such has too often been the fate of several thousands of men for the quarrels of two only ; and this cruel advantage was the only one gained by Steinbock ; for the Russians, Danes, and Saxons pursued him so closely, that he was obliged to beg for an asylum in Toningén, a fortress in the duchy of Holstein, for himself and army.

This duchy was at that time subjected to the most cruel ravages of any part of the north, and its sovereign was the most miserable of all princes. He was nephew to Charles XII. and it was on his father's account, who had married
Charles's

Charles's sister, that that monarch carried his arms even into the heart of Copenhagen, before the battle of Narva, and for whom he likewise made the treaty of Travendahl, by which the dukes of Holstein were restored to their rights.

This country was in part the cradle of the Cimbri, and of the old Normands, who overrun the province of Neustria in France, and conquered all England, Naples, and Sicily; and yet at this present time no state pretends less to make conquests than this part of the ancient Cimbrica Chersonesus, which consists only of two petty duchies; namely, that of Sleswick, belonging in common to the king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein, and that of Gottorp, appertaining to the duke alone. Sleswick is a sovereign principality: Holstein is a branch of the German empire, called the Roman empire.

The king of Denmark and the duke of Holstein, nephew to Charles XII. and presumptive heir to the crown, was the natural enemy of the king of Denmark, who had endeavoured to crush him in the very cradle. One of his father's brothers, who was bishop of Lubeck, and administrator of the dominions of this unfortunate ward, now beheld himself in the midst of the Swedish army, whom he durst not succour, and those of Russia, Denmark, and, Saxony, that threatened his country with daily destruction. Nevertheless he thought himself obliged to try to save Charles's army, if he could do it without irritating the king of Denmark, who had made himself master of his country, which

he exhausted, by raising continual contributions.

This bishop and administrator was entirely governed by the famous baron Goertz, the most artful and enterprising man of his age, endowed with a genius amazingly penetrating, and fruitful in every resource: with talents equal to the boldest and most arduous attempts, he was as insinuating in his negotiations, as he was hardy in his projects; he had the art of pleasing and persuading in the highest degree, and knew how to captivate all hearts by the vivacity of his genius, after he had won them by the softness of his eloquence. He afterwards gained the same ascendant over Charles XII. which he had then over the bishop; and all the world knows, that he paid with his life the honour he had of governing the most ungovernable and obstinate prince that ever sat upon a throne.

Goertz had a private conference with general Steinbock *, at which he promised to deliver him up the fortress of Toningén †, without exposing the bishop administrator his master to any danger, and at the same time gave the strongest assurances to the king of Denmark, that he would defend the place to the utmost. In this manner are almost all negotiations carried on, affairs of state being of a very different nature from those of private persons; the honour of ministers consisting wholly in success, and those of private persons in the observance of their promises.

* Private memoirs of Baffowitz, Jan. 21, 1712.

† A town of Sleswick, in Denmark, situated on the river Byder, fourteen miles from the German ocean, having a very commodious harbour.

General Steinbock presented himself before Toningen; the commandant refused to open the gates to him, and by this means put it out of the king of Denmark's power to alledge any cause of complaint against the bishop administrator; But Goertz causes an order to be given in the name of the young duke (a minor) to suffer the Swedish army to enter the town. The secretary of the cabinet, named Stamke, signs this order in the name of the duke of Holstein: by this means Goertz preserves the honour of an infant who had not as yet any power to issue orders; and he at once serves the king of Sweden, to whom he was desirous to make his court, and the bishop administrator his master, who appeared not to have consented to the admission of the Swedish troops. The governor of Toningen, who was easily gained, delivered up the town to the Swedes, and Goertz excused himself as well as he could to the king of Denmark, by protesting that the whole had been transacted without his consent.

The Swedes retired partly within the walls, and partly under the cannon of the town: but this did not save them; for general Steinbock was obliged to surrender himself prisoner of war, together with his whole army, to the number of 11,000 men, in the same manner as about 16,000 of their countrymen had done at the battle of Pultowa.

By this convention it was agreed, that Steinbock with his officers and men might be ransomed or exchanged. The price for the general's ransom was fixed at 8000 German crowns*; a very trifling sum, but which Steinbock how-

* About 12000 l. sterling.

ever was not able to raise ; so that he remained a prisoner in Copenhagen till the day of his death.

The territories of Holstein now remained at the mercy of the incensed conqueror. The young duke became the object of the king of Denmark's vengeance, and was fated to pay for the abuse which Goertz had made of his name. thus did the ill fortune of Charles XII. fall upon all his family.

Goertz perceiving his projects thus dissipated, and being still resolved to act a distinguished part in the general confusion of affairs, recalled to mind a scheme which he had formed to establish a neutrality in the Swedish territories in Germany.

The king of Denmark was ready to take possession of Töninge ; George, elector of Hanover, was about to seize Bremen and Verden, with the city of Stade ; the new-made king of Prussia, Frederick William, cast his views upon Stetin, and czar Peter was preparing to make himself master of Finland ; and all the territories of Charles XII. those of Sweden excepted, were going to become the spoils of those who wanted to share them. How then could so many different interests be rendered compatible with a neutrality ? Goertz entered into negotiation at one and the same time with all the several princes who had any views in this partition ; he continued night and day passing from one province to the other ; he engaged the governor of Bremen and Verden to put those two duchies into the hands of the elector of Hanover by way of sequestration, so that the Danes should not take possession of them for themselves ;

selves : he prevailed with the king of Prussia to accept jointly with the duke of Holstein, of the sequestration of Stetin and Wismaar, in consideration of which the king of Denmark was to act nothing against Holstein, and was not to enter Toningen. It was most certainly a strange way of serving Charles XII. to put his towns into the hands of those who might chuse if they would ever restore them ; but Goertz, by delivering those places to them as pledges, bound them to a neutrality, at least for some time ; and he was in hopes to be able afterwards to bring Hanover and Brandenburg to declare for Sweden : he prevailed on the king of Prussia, whose ruined dominions stood in need of peace, to enter into his views, and in short he found means to render himself necessary to all these princes, and disposed of the possessions of Charles XII. like a guardian, who gives up one part of his ward's estate to preserve the other, and of a ward incapable of managing his affairs himself ; and all this without any regular authority or commission, or other warrant for his conduct, than full powers given him by the bishop of Lubeck, who had no authority to grant such powers from Charles himself.

Such was the baron de Goertz, and such his actions, which have not hitherto been sufficiently known. There have been instances of an Oxenstiern, a Richelieu, and an Alberoni, influencing the affairs of all parts of Europe, but that the privy counsellor of a bishop of Lubeck should do the same as they, without his conduct being avowed by any one, is a thing hitherto unheard of.

June 1713] Nevertheless he succeeded to his wishes in the beginning, for he made a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which that monarch engaged, on condition of keeping Stetin in sequestration, to preserve the rest of Pomerania for Charles XII. In virtue of this treaty Goertz made a proposal to the governor of Pomerania (Mayerfeld) to give up the fortress of Stetin to the king of Prussia for the sake of peace, thinking that the Swedish governor of Stetin would prove as easy to be persuaded as the Holsteiner who had the command of Toningen; but the officers of Charles XII. were not accustomed to obey such orders. Mayerfeld made answer, that no one should enter Stetin but over his dead body and the ruins of the place, and immediately sent notice to his master of the strange proposal. The messenger at his arrival found Charles prisoner at Demirtash, in consequence of his adventure at Bender, and it was doubtful at that time, whether he would not remain all his life in confinement in Turkey, or else be banished to some of the islands in the Archipelago, or some part of Asia under the dominion of the Ottoman Porte. However Charles from his prison sent the same orders to Mayerfeld, as he had before done to Steinbock; namely, rather to perish than to submit to his enemies, and even commanded him to take his inflexibility for his example.

Goertz finding that the governor of Stetin had broke in upon his measures, and would neither hearken to a neutrality nor a sequestration, took it into his head not only to sequester the town of Stetin of his own authority, but also the city of Stralsund, and founds means to make

make the same kind of treaty with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, for that place, which he had done June 1713. with the elector of Brandenburg for Stetin. He clearly saw how impossible it would be for the Swedes to keep possession of those places without either men or money, while their king was a captive in Turkey, and he thought himself sure of turning aside the scourge of war from the north by means of these sequestrations. The king of Denmark himself at length gave into the projects of Goertz : the latter had gained an entire ascendant over prince Menzikoff, the czar's general and favourite, whom he had persuaded that the duchy of Holstein must be ceded to his master, and flattered the czar with the prospect of opening a canal from Holstein into the Baltic sea ; an enterprize perfectly conformable to the inclination and views of this royal founder ; and above all, he laboured to insinuate to him that he might obtain a new encrease of power, by condescending to become one of the princes of the empire, which would entitle him to a vote in the diet of Ratisbon, a right that he might afterwards for ever maintain by that of arms.

In a word, no one could put on more different appearances, adapt himself to more opposite interests, or act a more complicated part, than did this skilful negotiator ; he even went so far as to engage prince Menzikoff to ruin the very town of Stetin, which he was endeavouring to save, by bombarding it, in order to force Mayerfeld to sequester it into his hand, and offered this unpardonable insult to the king of Sweden, whose good graces he was endeavouring

ing to gain; and in which, at length, to his misfortune, he succeeded but too well.

When the king of Prussia saw a Russian army before Stetin, he found that place would be lost to him, and remain in the possession of the czar. This was just what Goertz expected and waited for. Prince Menzikoff was in want of money; Goertz got the king of Prussia to lend him 400,000 crowns: he afterwards sent a message to the governor of the place, to know of him "whether he would rather chuse to see Stetin in "ashes, and under the dominion of Russia, or "to trust it in the hands of the king of Prussia, "who would engage to restore it to the king "his master?" The commandant at length suffered himself to be persuaded, and gave up the place, which Menzikoff entered, and in consideration of the 400,000 crowns, delivered it afterwards, together with all the territories thereto adjoining, into the hands of the king of Prussia, who, for form's sake, left therein two battalions of the troops of Holstein, and has never since restored that part of Pomerania.

From this period, the second king of Prussia, successor to a weak and prodigal father, laid the foundation of that greatness to which his state has since arrived, by military discipline and œconomy.

The baron de Goertz, who put so many springs in motion, could not however succeed in prevailing on the Danes to spare the duchy of Holstein, or forbear taking possession of Tonningen. He failed in what appeared to have been his first object, though he succeeded in all his other views, and particularly in that of making himself the most important personage
of

of the north, which indeed was his principal object.

The elector of Hanover then had secured to himself Bremen and Verden, of which Charles XII. was now stripped. The Saxon army was before Wismaar; Stetin was in the hands of the king of Prussia; the Sept. 1715. Russians were ready to lay siege to Stralsund, in conjunction with the Saxons; and these latter had already landed in the island of Rugen, and the czar, in the midst of the numberless negotiations on all sides, while others were disputing about neutralities and partitions, makes a descent upon Finland. After having himself pointed the artillery against Stralsund, he left the rest to the care of his allies and prince Menzikoff, and embarking in the month of May, on the Baltic sea, on board a ship of fifty guns, which he himself caused to be built at Petersburg, he sailed for the coast of Finland, followed by a fleet of ninety-two whole, and one hundred and ten half galleys, having on board near sixteen May 22, thousand troops. He made his de- N. S. 1713. scent at Elfsborg, the most southern part of that cold and barren country, lying in 61 degrees north latitude; and notwithstanding the numberless difficulties he had to encounter, succeeded in his design. He caused a feint attack to be made on one side of the harbour, while he landed his troops on the other, and took possession of the town. He then made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast. The Swedes now seemed not to have any one resource left; for it was, at this very time, that their army, under the command of
C 6 general

general Steinbock, was obliged to surrender prisoners of war at Toningén.

These repeated disasters which befel Charles, were, as we have already shewn, followed by the loss of Bremen, Verden, Stetin, and a part of Pomerania; and that prince himself, with his ally and friend Stanislaus, were afterwards both prisoners in Turkey: nevertheless, he was not to be undeceived in the flattering notion he had entertained of returning to Poland, at the head of an Ottoman army, replacing Stanislaus on the throne, and once again making his enemies tremble.

C H A P. V.

Successes of PETER the GREAT.

Return of CHARLES XII. into his dominions.

1713. **P**ETER, while he was following the
1714. course of his conquests, completed the establishment of his navy, brought 12,000 families to settle in Petersburg, kept all his allies firm to his person and fortunes, notwithstanding they had different interests and opposite views; and with his fleet, kept in awe all the sea-ports of Sweden on the gulphs of Finland and Bothnia.

Prince Galitzin, one of his land-generals, whom he had formed himself, as he had done all his other officers, advanced from Elfsingford, where the czar had made his descent into the midst of the country, near the village of Tavesthus, which was a post that commanded the gulph of Bothnia,

nia, and was defended by a few Swedish regiments, and about 8000 militia. In this situation, a battle was unavoidable, the event of which proved March 13, 1714. favourable to the Russians, who entirely routed the whole Swedish army, and penetrated as far as Vaza, so that they were now masters of about eighty leagues of country.

The Swedes were still in possession of a fleet, with which they kept the sea; Peter had, for a considerable time, waited with impatience for an opportunity of establishing the reputation of his new marine. Accordingly he set out from Petersburg, and having got together a fleet of sixteen ships of the line, and one hundred and eighty gallies, fit for working among the rocks and shoals that surround the island of Aland, and the other islands in the Baltic sea, bordering upon the Swedish coast, he fell in with the fleet of that nation near their own shores. This armament greatly exceeded his in the largeness of the ships, but was inferior in the number of gallies, and more proper for engaging in the open sea, than among rocks, or near the shore. The advantage the czar had in this respect, was entirely owing to himself. He served in the rank of rear-admiral on board his own fleet, and received all the necessary orders from admiral Apraxin. Peter resolved to make himself master of the island of Aland, which lies only twelve leagues off the Swedish coast; and tho' obliged to pass full in view of the enemies fleet, he effected this bold and hazardous enterprize. His gallies forced a passage through the enemy, whose cannon did not fire low enough to hurt them, and entered Aland; but as that coast is almost surrounded with

with rocks, the czar caused eighty small gallies, to be transported by men, over a point of land, and launched into the sea, at a place called Hango, where his large ships were at anchor. Erenschild, the Swedish rear admiral, thinking that he might easily take or sink all these gallies, stood in shore, to order to reconnoitre their situation, but was received with so brisk a fire from the Russian fleet, that most of his men were killed or wounded; and all the gallies and prames he had brought with them were taken, together with his own ship.

Aug. 8. The admiral himself endeavoured to escape in a boat; but being wounded, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner, and was brought on board the gallies where the czar was, navigating himself. The scattered remains of the Swedish fleet made the best of their way home and the news of this accident threw all Stockholm into confusion, which now began to tremble for its own safety.

Much about the same time, colonel Schouvalow Neuschlof attacked the only remaining fortress on the western side of Finland, and made himself master of it, after a most obstinate resistance on the part of the besieged.

This affair of Aland was, next to that of Pultowa, the most glorious that had ever befallen the arms of Peter the Great, who now saw himself master of Finland, the government of which he committed to prince Galitzin,
Sept. 15. and returned to Petersburg victorious over the whole naval force of Sweden, and more than ever respected by his allies; the stormy season now approaching, not permitting him to remain longer with his ships in the Fin-

Finlandish and Bothnic seas. His good fortune also brought him back to his capital, just as the czarina was brought to bed of a princess, who died, however, about a year afterwards. He then instituted the order of St. Catharine, in honour of his consort *, and celebrated the birth of his daughter by a triumphal entry, which was, of all the festivals to which he had accustomed his subjects, that which they held in the greatest esteem. This ceremony was ushered in by bringing nine Swedish gallies, and seven prames filled with prisoners, and rear-admiral Erenschild's own ship, into the harbour of Cronstadt.

The cannon, colours, and standards taken in the expedition to Finland, and which had come home in the Russian admiral's ship, were brought on this occasion to Petersburg, and entered that metropolis in order of battle. A triumphal arch which the czar had caused to be erected, and which, as usual, was made from a model of his own, was decorated with the insignia of his conquests. Under this arch the victors marched in procession, with admiral Apraxin at their head; then followed the czar in quality of rear-admiral, and the other officers according to their several ranks. They were all presented one after another to the vice-admiral Rodamonoski, who, at this ceremony, re-

* In the preamble to this institution, the czar declared, that it was to perpetuate the memory of her love in his distressed condition on the banks of the river Pruth. He invested her with full power, to bestow it on such of her own sex as she should think proper. The ensigns of this order are, a broad white ribband, wore over the right shoulder, with a medal of St. Catharine, adorned with precious stones, and the motto, "Out of love and fidelity."

presented

presented the sovereign. This temporary vice-emperor distributed gold medals amongst all the officers, and others of silver to the soldiers and sailors. The Swedish prisoners likewise passed under the triumphal arch, and admiral Erenschild followed immediately after the czar, his conqueror. When they came to the place where the vice-czar was seated on his throne, admiral Apraxin presented to him rear-admiral Peter, who demanded to be made vice-admiral, in reward for his services. It was then put to the vote, if his request should be granted; and it may easily be conceived that he had the majority on his side.

After this ceremony was over, which filled every heart with joy, and inspired every mind with emulation, with a love for his country, and a thirst of fame, the czar made the following speech to those present; a speech which deserves to be transmitted to the latest posterity.

“Countrymen and friends, what man is there
“among you, who could have thought, twenty
“years ago, that we should one day fight together on the Baltic sea, in ships built by our
“own hands; and that we should establish settlements in countries conquered by our own
“labours and valour? — Greece is said to
“have been the ancient seat of the arts and sciences: they afterwards took up their abode
“in Italy, from whence they spread themselves
“through every part of Europe. It is now our
“turn to call them ours, if you will second my
“designs, by joining study to obedience. The
“arts circulate in this globe, as the blood does
“in the human body; and perhaps they may
“establish their empire amongst us, on their
“return

“return back to Greece, their mother-country ; and I even venture to hope, that we may one day put the most civilized nations to the blush, by our noble labours, and the solid glory resulting therefrom.”

Here is the true substance of this speech, so every way worthy of a great founder, and which has lost its chief beauties in this, and every other translation ; but the principal merit of this eloquent harangue, is its having been spoken by a victorious monarch, at once the founder and law-giver of his empire.

The old boyards listened to this speech, with greater regret for the abolition of their ancient customs, than admiration of their master's glory ; but the young ones could not hear him without tears of joy.

The splendor of these times were further heightened by the return of the Russian ambassadors from Constantinople, with a confirmation of the peace with the Sept. 15, Turks : an ambassador sent by Sha 1714. Hussein from Persia, had arrived some time before with a present to the czar of an elephant and five lions. He received at the same time an ambassador from Mahomet Bahadir, khan of the Usbeck Tartars, requesting his protection against another tribe of Tartars : so that both extremities of Asia and Europe seemed to join to offer him homage, and add to his glory.

The regency of Stockholm, driven to despair by the desperate situation of their affairs, and the absence of their sovereign, who seemed to have abandoned his dominions, had come to a resolution no more to consult him in relation to their

their proceedings ; and immediately after the victory the czar gained over their navy, they sent to the conqueror to demand a passport, for an officer charged with proposals of peace. The passport was sent ; but just as the person appointed to carry on the negotiation was on the point of setting out, the princess Ulrica Eleonora, sister to Charles XII. received advice from the king her brother, that he was preparing, at length, to quit Turkey, and return home to fight his own battles. Upon this news the regency did not dare to send the negotiator (whom they had already privately named) to the czar : and therefore resolved to support their ill fortune till the arrival of Charles to retrieve it.

In effect, Charles, after a stay of five years and some months in Turkey, set out from that country in the latter end of October 1714. Every one knows that he observed the same singularity in his journey, which characterised all the actions of his life. He arrived at Stralsund the twenty-second of November following. As soon as he got there, baron de Goertz came to pay his court to him ; and though he had been the instrument of one part of his misfortunes, yet he justified his conduct with so much art, and filled the imagination of Charles with such flattering hopes, that he gained his confidence, as he had already done that of every other minister and prince with whom he had entered into any negotiations. In short, he made him believe, that means might be found to draw off the czar's allies, and thereby procure an honourable peace, or at least to carry on the war upon an equal footing ; and from this time Goertz gained a greater ascendancy over the mind

mind of the king of Sweden than ever count Piper had.

The first thing which Charles did after his arrival at Stralsund, was to demand a supply of money from the citizens of Stockholm, who readily parted with what little they had left, as not being able to refuse any thing to a king, who asked only to bestow, who lived as hard as the meanest soldier, and exposed his life equally in defence of his country. His misfortunes, his captivity, his return to his dominions, so long deprived of his presence, were arguments which preposited alike his own subjects and foreigners in his favour, who could not forbear at once to blame and admire, to compassionate and to assist him. His reputation was of a kind totally differing from that of Peter the Great; it consisted not in cherishing the arts and sciences, in enacting laws, in establishing a form of government, nor in introducing commerce among his subjects; it was confined entirely to his own person. He placed his chief merit in a valour superior to what is commonly called courage. He defended his dominions with a greatness of soul equal to that of valour, and aimed only to inspire other nations with awe and respect for him; hence he had more partisans than allies.

C H A P. VI.

State of EUROPE at the return of CHARLES XII.
Siege of STRALSUND.

WHEN Charles XII. returned to his dominions in the year 1714, he found the state of affairs in Europe very different from that in which he had left them. Queen Anne of England was dead, after having made peace with France. Lewis XIV. had secured the monarchy of Spain for his grandson, the duke of Anjou, and had obliged the emperor Charles VI. and the Dutch to agree to a peace, which their situation rendered necessary to them, so that the affairs of Europe had put on altogether a new face.

Those of the north had undergone a still greater change. Peter was become sole arbiter in that part of the world: the elector of Hanover, who had been called to fill the British throne, had views of extending his territories in Germany, at the expence of Sweden, who had never had any possessions in that country, but since the reign of the Great Gustavus. The king of Denmark aimed at recovering Scania, the best province of Sweden, which had formerly belonged to the Danes. The king of Prussia, as heir to the dukes of Pomerania, laid claim to a part of that province. On the other hand, the Holstein family, oppressed by the king of Denmark, and the duke of Mecklenburg, almost at open war with his subjects, were suing to Peter the Great to take them under his

pro-

protection. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was desirous to have the duchy of Courland annexed to Poland; so that from the Elbe to the Baltic sea, Peter the First was considered as the support of the several crowned heads, as Charles XII. had been their greatest terror.

Many negotiations were set on foot after the return of Charles to his dominions, but nothing had been done. That prince thought he could raise a sufficient number of ships of war and privateers, to put a stop to the rising power of the czar by sea; with respect to the land-war, he depended upon his own valour; and Goertz, who was on a sudden become his prime minister, persuaded him, that he might find means to defray the expence, by coining copper-money, to be taken at ninety-six times less than its real value, a thing unparalleled in the histories of any state; but, in the month of April 1715, the first Swedish privateers that put to sea were taken by the czar's men of war, and a Russian army marched into the heart of Pomerania.

The Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, who sat down with their united forces before Stralsund, and Charles XII. beheld himself returned from his confinement at Demirtash, and Demirtoca on the Black sea, only to be more closely pent up on the borders of the Baltic.

We have already shewn, in the history of this extraordinary man, with what haughty and unembarrassed resolution he braved the united forces of his enemies in Stralsund; and shall therefore, in this place, only add a single circumstance, which, though trivial, may serve to shew the peculiarity of his character. The greatest part of his officers having been either killed or wounded

wounded during the siege, the duty fell hard upon the few who were left. Baron de Reichel, a colonel, having sustained a long engagement upon the ramparts, and being tired out with repeated watchings and fatigues, had thrown himself upon a bench to take a little repose; when he was called up to mount guard again upon the ramparts, as he was dragging himself along, hardly able to stand, and cursing the obstinacy of the king his master, who subjected all those about him to such insufferable and fruitless fatigues, Charles happened to overhear him: upon which, stripping off his own cloak, he spread it on the ground before him, saying, "My dear Reichel, you are quite spent, come, I have had an hour's sleep, which has refreshed me, I'll take the guard for you, while you finish your nap, and will wake you when I think it is time;" and so saying, he wrapt the colonel up in his cloak; and notwithstanding all his resistance, obliged him to lie down to sleep, and mounted the guard himself.

It was during this siege that the elector of Hanover, lately made king of England, purchased of the king of Denmark the province of Bremen and Verden, with the
 Oct. 1715. city of Stade, which the Danes had taken from Charles XII. This purchase cost king George 800,000 German crowns. In this manner were the dominions of Charles bartered away, while he defended the city of Stralsund, inch by inch, till at length nothing was left of it but a heap
 Dec. 1713. of ruins, which his officers compelled him to leave; and when he

was in a place of safety, general Duker delivered up those ruins to the king of Prussia.

Some time afterwards, Duker being presented to Charles, that monarch reproached him with having capitulated with his enemies; when Duker replied, "I had too great a regard for your majesty's honour, to continue to defend a place which you was obliged to leave." However, the Prussians continued in possession of it no longer than the year 1721, when they gave it up at the general peace.

During the siege of Stralsund, Charles received another mortification, which would have been still more severe, if his heart had been as sensible to the emotions of friendship, as it was to those of fame and honour. His prime minister, count Piper, a man famous throughout all Europe, and of unshaken fidelity to his prince (notwithstanding the assertions of certain rash persons, or the authority of a mistaken writer): this Piper, I say, had been the victim of his master's ambition ever since the battle of Pultowa. As there was at that time no cartel for the exchange of prisoners subsisting between the Russians and Swedes, he had remained in confinement at Moscow, and although he had not been sent into Siberia, as the others prisoners were, yet his situation was greatly to be pitied. The czar's finances at that time were not managed with so much fidelity as they ought to be, and his many new establishments required an expence which he could with difficulty answer. In particular, he owed a considerable sum of money to the Dutch, on account of two of their merchant-ships which had been burnt on the coast of Finland, in the descent the czar had made

made on that country. Peter pretended that the Swedes were to make good the damage, and wanted to engage count Piper to charge himself with this debt : accordingly he was sent for from Moscow to Petersburg, and his liberty was offered him, in case he could draw upon Sweden letters of exchange to the amount of 60,000 crowns. It is said that he actually did draw bills for this sum upon his wife at Stockholm, but that she being either unable or unwilling to take them up, they were returned, and the king of Sweden never gave himself the least concern about paying the money. Be this as it may, count Piper was closely confined in the castle of Schlusfelbourg, where he died the year after, at the age of seventy. His remains were sent to the king of Sweden, who gave them a magnificent burial ; a vain and melancholy return to an old servant, for a life of suffering, and so deplorable an end !

Peter was satisfied with having got possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria, which he looked upon as his own provinces, and to which he had, moreover, added almost all Finland, which served as a kind of pledge, in case his enemies should conclude a peace. He had married one of his nieces to Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg, in the month of 1715. April of the same year, so that all the sovereigns of the north were now either his allies or his creatures. In Poland, he kept the enemies of king Augustus in awe ; one of his armies, consisting of about 8000 men, having, without any loss, quelled several of those confederacies, which are so frequent in that country of liberty and anarchy : on the other hand,

hand, the Turks, by strictly observing their treaties, left him at full liberty to exert his power, and execute his schemes in their utmost extent.

In this flourishing situation of his affairs, scarcely a day passed without being distinguished by new establishments, either in the navy, the army, or the legislature: he himself composed a military code for the infantry.

Nov. 8.] He likewise founded a naval academy at Petersburg; dispatched Lange to China and Siberia, with a commission of trade; set mathematicians to work, in drawing charts of the whole empire; built a summer's palace at Petershoff, and at the same time built forts on the banks of the Irtish, stopped the incursions and ravages of the Bukari* on the one side, and, on the other, suppressed the Tartars of Kouban.

1715.] His prosperity seemed now to be at its zenith, by the empress Catharine's being delivered of a son, and an heir to his dominions being given him, in a prince born to the Czarowitz Alexis; but the joy for these happy events, which fell out within a few days of each other, was soon damped by the death of the empress's son; and the sequel of this history will shew us, that the fate of the Czarowitz was too unfortunate, for the birth of a son to this prince to be looked upon as a happiness.

The delivery of the czarina put a stop for some time to her accompanying, as usual, her royal consort in all his expeditions by sea and

* Inhabitants of a small town of Hungarian Dalmatia, with a harbour, from whence the neighbouring sea takes the name of Golfo di Bickariga.

land; but, as soon as she was up again, she followed him to new adventures.

C H A P. VII.

New Travels of the C Z A R.

WISMAR was at this time besieged by the czar's allies. This town, which belonged of right to the duke of Mecklenburg, is situated on the Baltic, about seven leagues distant from Lubeck, and might have rivalled that city in its extensive trade, being once one of the most considerable of the Hanse Towns, and the duke of Mecklenburg exercised therein a full power of protection, rather than of sovereignty. This was one of the German territories yet remaining to the Swedes, in virtue of the peace of Westphalia: but it was now obliged to share the same fate with Stralsund. The allies of the czar pushed the siege with the greatest vigour, in order to make themselves masters of it before that prince's troops should arrive; but Peter himself coming before the place in person, Feb. 1716. after the capitulation, which had been made without his privacy, made the garrison prisoners of war. He was not a little incensed, that his allies should have left the king of Denmark in possession of a town which was the right of a prince, who had married his niece; and his resentment on this occasion, (which that artful minister de Goertz soon after turned to his own advantage,) laid the first foundation of the peace, which he mediated to bring about between the czar and Charles XII.

Goertz

Goertz took the first opportunity to insinuate to the czar, that Sweden was sufficiently humbled, and that he should be careful not to suffer Denmark and Prussia to become too powerful. The czar joined in opinion with him, and as he had entered into the war, merely from motives of policy, whilst Charles carried it on wholly on the principles of a warrior; he, from that instant, slackened in his operations against the Swedes, and Charles, every where unfortunate in Germany, determined to risk one of those desperate strokes which success only can justify, and carried the war into Norway.

In the mean time, Peter was desirous to make a second tour thro' Europe. He had undertaken his first, as a person who travelled for instruction in the arts and sciences: but this second, he made as a prince, who wanted to dive into the secrets of the several courts. He took the czarina with him to Copenhagen, Lubeck, Schwerin, and Nyftadt. He had an interview with the king of Prussia at the little town of Aversberg, from thence he and the empress went to Hamburg, and to Altena, which had been burned by the Swedes, and which they caused to be rebuilt. Descending the Elbe as far as Stade, they passed through Bremen, where the magistrates prepared a firework and illuminations for them, which formed, in an hundred different places, these words, "Our Deliverer is come amongst us." At length, he arrived Dec. 17. once more at Amsterdam, and visited 1716. the little hut at Saardam, where he had first learned the art of ship-building, about eighteen years before, and found his old dwelling converted into a handsome and commodi-

ous house, which is still to be seen, and goes by the name of the prince's house.

It may easily be conceived, with what a kind of idolatry he was received by a trading and sea-faring set of people, whose companion he had heretofore been, and who thought they saw in the conqueror of Pultowa, a pupil who had learned from them to gain naval victories; and had, after their example, established trade and navigation in his own dominions. In a word, they looked upon him as a fellow-citizen, who had been raised to the imperial dignity.

The life, the travels, the actions of Peter the Great, as well as of his rival Charles of Sweden, exhibit a surprising contrast to the manners which prevail amongst us, and which are, perhaps, rather too delicate; and this may be one reason, that the history of these two famous men so much excites our curiosity.

The czarina had been left behind at Schwerin indisposed, being greatly advanced in her pregnancy; nevertheless, as soon as she was able to travel, she set out to join the czar in Holland, but was taken in labour at Wesel, Jan. 14, and there delivered of a prince, who 1717. lived but one day. It is not customary with us for a lying-in-woman to stir abroad for some time; but the czarina set out, and arrived at Amsterdam in ten days after her labour. She was very desirous to see the little cabin her husband had lived and worked in. Accordingly she and the czar went together, without any state or attendance, excepting only two servants, and dined at the house of a rich ship-builder of Saardam, whose name

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was Kalf, and who was one of the first who had traded to Petersburg. His son had lately arrived from France, whither Peter was going. The czar and czarina took great pleasure in hearing an adventure of this young man, which I should not mention here, only as it may serve to shew the great difference between the manners of that country and ours.

Old Kalf, who had sent this son of his to Paris, to learn the French tongue, was desirous that he should live in a genteel manner during his stay there; and accordingly had ordered him to lay aside the plain garb which the inhabitants of Saardam are in general accustomed to wear, and to provide himself with fashionable cloaths at Paris, and to live, in a manner, rather suitable to his fortune than his education; being sufficiently well acquainted with his son's disposition, to know that this indulgence would have no bad effect on his natural frugality and sobriety.

As a calf is in the French language called *Veau*, our young traveller, when he arrived at Paris, took the name of *De Veau*. He lived in a splendid manner, spent his money freely, and made several genteel connections. Nothing is more common at Paris than to bestow, without reserve, the title of count and marquis whether a person has any claim to it or not, or even if he is barely a gentleman. This absurd practice has been allowed by the government, in order that, by thus confounding all ranks, and consequently humbling the nobility, there might be less danger of civil wars, which, in former times, were so frequent and destructive to the peace of

the state. In a word, the title of marquis and count, without possessions equivalent to that dignity, are like those of knight without being of any order, or abbé without any church-preferment; of no consequence, and not looked upon by the sensible part of the nation.

Young Mr. Kalf was always called the count de Veau by his acquaintance and his own servants: he frequently made one in the parties of the princesses; he played at the duchess of Berri's, and few strangers were treated with greater marks of distinction, or had more general invitations among polite company. A young nobleman, who had been always one of his companions in these parties, promised to pay him a visit at Saardam, and was as good as his word; when he arrived at the village, he enquired for the house of count Kalf; when being shewn into a carpenter's work-shop, he there saw his former gay companion, the young count, dressed in a jacket and trowsers, after the Dutch fashion, with an ax in his hand, at the head of his father's workmen. Here he was received by his friend, in that plain manner to which he had been accustomed from his birth, and from which he never deviated. The sensible reader will forgive this little digression, as it is a satire on vanity, and a panegyric on true manners.

The czar continued three months in Holland, during which he passed his time in matters of a more serious nature than the adventure just related. Since the treaties of Nimeguen, Ryf-wick, and Utrecht, the Hague had preserved the reputation of being the center of negotiations in Europe. This little city, or rather village, the most pleasant of any in the north, is chiefly

chiefly inhabited by foreign ministers, and by travellers, who come for instruction to this great school. They were at that time laying the foundation of a great revolution in Europe. The czar having gotten intelligence of the approaching storm, prolonged his stay in the Low Countries, that he might be nearer at hand, to observe the machinations going forward, both in the north and south, and prepare himself for the part which it might be necessary for him to act therein.

C H A P. VIII.

Continuation of the travels of PETER the GREAT. Conspiracy of baron GOERTZ. Reception of the Czar in FRANCE,

HE plainly saw that his allies were jealous of his power, and found that there is often more trouble with friends than with enemies.

Mecklenburg was one of the principal subjects of these divisions, which almost always subsist between neighbouring princes, who share in conquests. Peter was not willing that the Danes should take possession of Wismar for themselves, and still less that they should demolish the fortifications, and yet they did both the one and the other.

He openly protected the duke of Mecklenburg, who had married his niece, and whom he regarded like a son-in law, against the nobility of the country, and the king of England as openly protected these latter. On the other hand, he was greatly discontented with the king

of Poland, or rather with his minister, count Fleming, who wanted to throw off that dependance on the czar, which necessity and gratitude had imposed.

The courts of England, Poland, Denmark, Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg, were severally agitated with intrigues and cabals.

Towards the end of the year 1716, and beginning of 1717, Goertz, who, as Bassevitz tells us in his memoirs, was weary of having only the title of counsellor of Holstein, and being only private plenipotentiary to Charles XII. was the chief promoter of these intrigues, with which he intended to disturb the peace of all Europe. His design was to bring Charles XII. and the czar together, not only with a view to finish the war between them, but to unite them in friendship, to replace Stanislaus on the crown of Poland, and to wrest Bremen and Verden out of the hands of George I. king of England, and even to drive that prince from the English throne, in order to put it out of his power to appropriate to himself any part of the spoils of Charles XII.

There was at the same time a minister of his own character, who had formed a design to overturn the two kingdoms of England and France: this was cardinal Alberoni, who had more power at that time in Spain, than Goertz had in Sweden, and was of as bold and enterprising a spirit as himself, but much more powerful, as being at the head of affairs, in a kingdom infinitely more rich, and never paid his creatures and dependants in copper-money.

Goertz, from the borders of the Baltic sea, soon formed a connection with Alberoni in Spain.

Spain. The cardinal and he both held a correspondence with all the wandering English who were in the interest of the house of Stuart. Goertz made visits to every place where he thought he was likely to find any enemies of king George, and went successively to Germany, Holland, Flanders, and Lorrain, and at length came to Paris, about the end of the year 1716. Cardinal Alberoni began, by remitting to him in Paris, a million of French livres, in order (to use the cardinal's own expression) to set fire to the train.

Goertz proposed that Charles XII. should yield up several places to the czar, in order to be in a condition to recover all the others from his enemies, and that he might be at liberty to make a descent in Scotland, while the partisans of the Stuart family should make an effectual rising in England; after their former vain attempts to effect these views, it was necessary to deprive the king of England of his chief support, which at that time was the regent of France. It was certainly very extraordinary, to see France in league with England, against the grandson of Lewis XIV. whom she herself had placed on the throne of Spain, at the expence of her blood and treasure, notwithstanding the strong confederacy formed to oppose him; but it must be considered, that every thing was now out of its natural order, and the interests of the regent not those of the kingdom. Alberoni, at that time, was carrying on a confederacy in France against this very regent *. And the foundations of this grand project were laid almost as soon as the plan

* The conspiracy carried on in France by cardinal Alberoni was discovered in a very singular manner. The Spanish ambassador

plan itself had been formed. Goertz was the first who was let into the secret, and was to have made a journey into Italy in disguise, to hold a conference with the pretender, in the neighbourhood of Rome; from thence he was to have hastened to the Hague, to have an interview

sador's secretary, who used frequently to go to the house of one La Follon, a famous procureur of Paris, to amuse himself for an hour or two after the fatigues of business, had appointed a young nymph, whom he was fond of, to meet him there at nine o'clock in the evening; but did not come to her till near two o'clock in the morning. The lady, as may be supposed, reproached him with the little regard he paid to her charms, or his own promise, but he excused himself, by saying, that he had been obliged to stay to finish a long dispatch in cyphers, which was to be sent away that very night by a courier to Spain: so saying, he undressed and threw himself into bed, where he quietly fell asleep. In pulling off his cloaths, he had by accident dropt a paper out of his pocket, which, by its bulk, raised in the nymph that curiosity so natural to her sex. She picked it up, and read it partly over, when the nature of its contents made her resolve to communicate them to La Follon; accordingly, she framed some excuse for leaving the room, and immediately went to the apartment of the old lady, and opened her budget; La Follon, who was a woman of superior understanding to most in her sphere, immediately saw the whole consequence of the affair, and, after having recommended to the girl, to amuse her gallant as long as possible, she immediately went to waken the regent, to whom she had access at all hours, for matters of a very different nature to the present. This prince, whose presence of mind was equal to every exigency, immediately dispatched different couriers to the frontiers; in consequence of which, the Spanish ambassador's message was stopped at Bayonne, and his dispatches taken from him; upon decyphering of which, they were found exactly to agree with the original delivered to the regent by La Follon: upon this the prince of Cellamar, the Spanish ambassador, was put under an arrest, and all his papers seized; after which he was sent under a strong guard to the frontiers, where they left him, to make the best of his way to his own country. Thus an event, which would have brought the kingdom of France to the verge of destruction, was frustrate by a votary of Venus, and a priestess of the temple of pleasure.

with

with the czar, and then to have settled every thing with the king of Sweden.

The author of this history is particularly well informed of every circumstance here advanced, for baron Goertz proposed to him to accompany him in these journies; and, notwithstanding he was very young at that time, he was one of the first witnesses to a great part of these intrigues.

Goertz returned from Holland in the latter part of 1716, furnished with bills of exchange from cardinal Alberoni, and letters plenipotentiary from Charles XII. It is incontestable that the Jacobite party were to have made a rising in England, while Charles, in his return from Norway, was to make a descent in the North of Scotland. This prince, who had not been able to preserve his own dominions on the continent, was now going to invade and overturn those of his neighbours, and just escaped from his prison in Turkey, and from amidst the ruins of his own city of Stralsund. Europe might have beheld him placing the crown of Great Britain on the head of the son of James II. in London, as he had before done that of Poland on Stanislaus at Warsaw.

The czar, who was acquainted with a part of Goertz's projects, waited for the unfolding of the rest, without entering into any of his plans, or indeed knowing them all. He was as fond of great and extraordinary enterprizes as Charles XII. Goertz, or Alberoni; but then it was as the founder of a state, a law-giver, and a sound politician; and perhaps Alberoni, Goertz, and even Charles himself, were rather men of restless souls, who sought after great adventures,

tures, than persons of solid understanding, who took their measures with a just precaution ; or perhaps after all, their ill successes may have subjected them to the charge of rashness and imprudence.

During Goertz's stay at the Hague, the czar did not see him, as it would have given too much umbrage to his friends the States General, who were in close alliance with, and attached to the party of the king of England ; and even his ministers visited him only in private, and with great precaution, having orders from their master to hear all he had to offer, and to flatter him with hopes, without entering into any engagement, or making use of his (the czar's) name in their conferences. But notwithstanding all these precautions, those who understood the nature of affairs plainly saw by his inactivity, when he might have made a descent upon Scania with the joint fleets of Russia and Denmark, by his visible coolness towards his allies, and the little regard he paid to their complaints, and lastly, by this journey of his, that there was a great change in affairs, which would very soon manifest itself.

In the month of January 1717, a Swedish packet-boat, which was carrying letters over to Holland, being forced by a storm upon the coast of Norway, put into harbour there. The letters were seized, and those of baron de Goertz and some other public ministers being opened, furnished sufficient evidence of the projected revolution. The court of Denmark communicated these letters to the English ministry, who gave orders for arresting the Swedish minister Gillembourg then at the court of London,

London, and seizing his papers; upon examining which they discovered part of his correspondence with the Jacobites.

Feb. 1717.] King George immediately wrote to the State-General, requiring them to cause the person of baron Goertz to be arrested, agreeable to the treaty of union subsisting between England and that republic for their mutual security. But this minister, who had his creatures and emissaries in every part, was quickly informed of this order; upon which he instantly quitted the Hague, and was got as far as Arnheim, a town on the frontiers, when the officers and guards, who were in pursuit of him, and who are seldom accustomed to use such diligence in that country, came up with and took him, together with all his papers: he was strictly confined and severely treated; and secretary Stanke, the person who had counterfeited the sign manual of the young duke of Holstein in the affair of Toningen, experienced still harsher usage. In fine, the count of Gillembourg, the Swedish envoy to the court of Great Britain, and the baron de Goertz, minister plenipotentiary from Charles XII. were examined like criminals, the one at London, and the other at Arnheim, while all the foreign ministers exclaimed against this violation of the law of nations.

This privilege, which is much more insisted upon than understood, and whose limits and extent have never yet been fixed, has in almost every age received violent attacks. Several ministers have been driven from the courts where they resided in a public character, and even their persons have been more than once seized upon,

upon, but this was the first instance of foreign ministers being interrogated at the bar of a court of justice, as if they were natives of the country. The court of London and the States-General laid aside all rules upon seeing the dangers which menaced the house of Hanover; but in fact, this danger, when once discovered, ceased to be any longer danger, at least at that juncture.

The historian Norberg must have been very ill informed, have had a very indifferent knowledge of men and things, or at least have been strangely blinded by partiality, or under severe restrictions from his own court, to endeavour to persuade his readers, that the king of Sweden had not a very great share in this plot.

The affront offered to his ministers fixed Charles more than ever in his resolution to try every means to dethrone the king of England. But here he found it necessary, once in his life-time, to make use of dissimulation. He disowned his ministers and their proceedings both to the regent of France and the States General, from the former of whom he expected a subsidy, and with the latter it was for his interest to keep fair. He did not however give the king of England so much satisfaction, and his ministers Goertz and Gillembourg were kept six months in confinement, and this repeated insult animated in him the desire of revenge.

Peter, in the midst of all these alarms and jealousies, kept himself quiet, waiting with patience the event of all from time; and having established such good order throughout his vast dominions, as that he had nothing to fear either at home or from abroad, he resolved to make

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a journey to France. Unhappily he did not understand the French language, by which means he was deprived of the greatest advantage he might have reaped from his journey ; but he thought there might be something there worthy observation, and he had a mind to be a nearer witness of the terms on which the regent stood with the king of England, and whether that prince was staunch to his alliance.

Peter the Great was received in France as such a monarch ought to be. Marshal Tessé was sent to meet him, with a number of the principal lords of the court, a company of guards, and the king's coaches ; but he, according to his usual custom, travelled with such expedition, that he was at Gournay when the equipages arrived at Elbeuf. Entertainments were made for him in every place on the road where he chose to partake of them. On his arrival, he was received in the Louvre, where the royal apartments were prepared for him, and others for the princes Kourakin and Dolgorouki, the vice-chancellor Shaffiroff, the ambassador Tolstoy, the same who had suffered in his person that notorious violation of the laws of nations in Turkey, and for the rest of his retinue. Orders were given for lodging and entertaining him in the most splendid and sumptuous manner ; but Peter, who was come only to see what might be of use to him, and not to suffer these ceremonious triflings, which were a restraint upon his natural plainness, and consumed a time that was precious to him, went the same night to take up his lodgings at the other end of the city, in the Hôtel of Lesdiguière,

ère, belonging to Marshal Villeroi, where he was entertained at the king's expence in the same manner as he would have been at the Louvre.

The next day the regent of May 8, 1717. France went to make him a visit in the before-mentioned hôtel, and the day afterwards the young king, then an infant, was sent to him under the care of his governor the marshal de Villeroi, whose father had been governor to Lewis XIV. On this occasion they by a polite artifice spared the czar the troublesome restraint of returning this visit immediately after receiving it, by allowing an interval of two days for him to receive the respects of the several corporations of the city; the second night he went to visit the king: the household were all under arms, and they brought the young king quite to the door of the czar's coach. Peter surprized and uneasy at the prodigious concourse of people assembled about the infant monarch, took him in his arms, and carried him in that manner for some time.

Certain ministers of more cunning than understanding, have pretended in their writings, that marshal Villeroi wanted to make the young king of France take the upper hand on this occasion, and that the czar made use of this stratagem to overturn the ceremonial under the appearance of good nature and tenderness: but this notion is equally false and absurd. The natural good breeding of the French court, and the respect due to the person of Peter the Great, would not permit a thought of turning the honours intended him into an affront. The ceremonial consisted in doing every thing for a great monarch and a great man, that he himself could have

have desired, if he had given any attention to matters of this kind. The journies of the emperors Charles IV. Sigismund, and Charles V. to France, were by no means comparable, in point of splendor, to this of Peter the Great. They visited this kingdom only from motives of political interest, and at a time when the arts and sciences, as yet in their infancy, could not render the æra of their journey so memorable: but when Peter the Great, on his going to dine with the duke d'Antin in the palace of Petit-bourg, about three leagues out of Paris, saw his own picture, which had been drawn for the occasion, brought on a sudden, and placed in a room where he was, he then found that no people in the world knew so well how to receive such a guest as the French.

He was still more surprized, when, on going to see them strike the medals in the long gallery of the Louvre, where all the king's artists are so handsomely lodged; a medal which they were then striking happening to fall to the ground, the czar stooped hastily down to take it up, when he beheld his own head engraved thereon, and on the reverse a fame standing with one foot upon a globe, and underneath these words from Virgil, "*Vires acquirit eundo*;" an allusion equally delicate and noble, and elegantly adapted to his travels and his fame. Several of these medals in gold were presented to him, and to all those who attended him. Wherever he went to view the works of any artists, they laid the master pieces of their performances at his feet, which they besought him to accept. In a word, when he visited the manufactures of the Gobelins, the workshop of
the

the king's statuaries, painters, goldsmiths, jewellers, or mathematical instrument-makers, whatever seemed to strike his attention at any of those places, were always offered him in the king's name.

Peter, who was a mechanic, an artist, and a geometrician, went to visit the academy of sciences, who received him with an exhibition of every thing they had most valuable and curious ; but they had nothing so curious as himself. He corrected with his own hand several geographical errors in the charts of his own dominions, and especially in those of the Caspian sea. Lastly, he condescended to become one of the members of that academy, and afterwards continued a correspondence in experiments and discoveries with those among whom he had inrolled himself as a simple brother. If we would find examples of such travellers as Peter, we must go back to the times of a Pythagoras and an Anacharsis, and even they did not quit the command of a mighty empire, to go in search of instruction.

And here we cannot forbear recalling to the mind of the reader the transport with which Peter the Great was seized on viewing the monument of cardinal Richelieu. Regardless of the beauties of the sculpture, which is a masterpiece of its kind, he only admired the image of a minister who had rendered himself so famous throughout Europe by disturbing its peace, and restored to France that glory which she had lost after the death of Henry IV. It is well known, that, embracing the statue with rapture, he burst forth into this exclamation : " Great man !
" I would have bestowed one half of my empire
" pire

“pity on thee, to have taught me to govern
“the other.” And now, before he quitted
France, he was desirous to see the famous Ma-
dam de Maintenon, whom he knew to be in
fact the widow of Lewis XIV. and who was
now drawing very near her end : and his curio-
sity was the more excited by the kind of con-
formity he found between his own marriage
and that of Lewis ; though with this difference
between the king of France and him, that he
had publicly married an heroine, whereas
Lewis XIV. had only privately enjoyed an
amiable wife.

The czarina did not accompany her husband
in this journey : he was apprehensive that the
excess of ceremony would be troublesome to her,
as well as the curiosity of a court little capable
of distinguishing the true merit of a woman,
who had braved death by the side of her hus-
band both by sea and land, from the banks of
the Pruth to the coast of Finland.

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C H A P. IX.

Of the return of the czar to his dominions.
Of his politics and occupations.

THE behaviour of the Sorbonne to Peter when he went to visit the mausoleum of cardinal Richelieu, deserves to be treated of by itself.

Some doctors of this university were desirous to have the honour of bringing about an union between the Greek and Latin churches. Those who are acquainted with antiquity need not be told, that the Christian religion was first introduced into the West by the Asiatic Greeks; that it was born in the East, and that the first fathers, the first councils, the first liturgies, and the first rites, were all from the East; that there is not a single title or office in the hierarchy, but was in Greek, and thereby plainly shews the same from whence they were all derived to us. Upon the division of the Roman empire, it was next to impossible, but that sooner or later there must be two religions as well as two empires, and that the same schism should arise between the eastern and western Christians, as between the followers of Osman and the Persians.

It is this schism which certain doctors of the Sorbonne thought to crush all at once by means of a memorial which they presented to Peter the Great, and effect what Pope Leo IX. and his successors had in vain laboured for many ages to bring about, by legates, councils, and even money.

money. These doctors should have known, that Peter the Great, who was the head of the Russian church, was not likely to acknowledge the pope's authority. They expatiated in their memorial on the liberties of the Gallican church, which the czar gave himself no concern about. They asserted that the popes ought to be subject to the councils, and that a papal decree is not an article of faith : but their representations were in vain ; all they got by their pains, was to make the pope their enemy by such free declarations, at the same time that they pleased neither the czar nor the Russian church.

There were in this plan of union certain political views, which the good fathers did not understand, and some points of controversy which they pretended to understand, and which each party explained as they thought proper. It was concerning the Holy Ghost, which, according to the Latin church, proceeds from the Father and the Son, and which at present, according to the Greeks, proceeds from the Father through the Son, after having for a considerable time proceeded from the Father only : on this occasion they quoted a passage in St. Epiphanius, where it is said, " that the Holy " Ghost is neither brother to the Son, nor " grandson to the Father."

But Peter, when he left Paris, had other business to mind, than that of clearing up passages in St. Epiphanius. Nevertheless, he received the memorial of the Sorbonne with his accustomed affability. That learned body wrote to some of the Russian bishops, who returned a polite answer, though the major part of them were offended at the proposed union. It was in order

der to remove any apprehensions of such an union, that Peter, some time afterwards, namely, in 1718, when he had driven the Jesuits out of his dominions, instituted the ceremony of a burlesque conclave.

He had at his court an old fool, named Jotos, who had learned him to write, and who thought he had, by that trivial service, merited the highest honours, and most important post: Peter, who sometimes softened the toils of government, by indulging his people in amusements, which befitted a nation as yet not entirely reformed by his labours, promised his writing-master to bestow on him one of the highest dignities in the world; accordingly, he appointed him knés papa, or supreme pontiff, with an appointment of 2000 crowns, and assigned him a house to live in, in the Tartarian quarter at Petersburg. He was installed by a number of buffoons, with great ceremony, and four fellows who stammered were appointed to harangue him on the accession. He created a number of cardinals, and marched in procession at their head, and the whole sacred college was made drunk with brandy; after the death of this Jotos, an officer, named Buturlin, was made pope: this ceremony has been thrice renewed at Moscow and Petersburg, the ridiculousness of which, though it appeared of no moment, yet has, by its ridiculousness, confirmed the people in their aversion to a church, which pretended to the supreme power, and whose church had anathematized so many crowned heads. In this manner did the czar revenge the cause of twenty emperors of Germany, ten kings of France, and a number of other sovereigns; and this was all the advantage

tage the Sorbonne gained from its impolitic attempt to unite the Latin and Greek churches.

The czar's journey to France proved of more utility to his kingdom, by bringing about a connection with a trading and industrious people, than could have arisen from the projected union between two rival churches; one of which will always maintain its ancient independence, and the other its new superiority.

Peter carried several artificers with him out of France, in the same manner as he had done out of England; for every nation which he visited, thought it an honour to assist him in his design of introducing the arts and sciences into his new formed state, and to be instrumental in this species of new creation.

In this expedition, he drew up a sketch of a treaty of commerce with France, and which he put into the hands of his ministers at Holland, as soon as he returned thither, but was not signed by the French ambassador Chateauneuf till the 15th Aug. 1717, at the Hague. This treaty not only related to trade, but likewise to bringing about peace in the north. The king of France and the elector of Brandenburg accepted of the office of mediators, which Peter offered them. This was sufficient to give the king of England to understand, that the czar was not well pleased with him, and crowned the hopes of baron Goertz, who, from that time, left nothing undone to bring about an union between Charles and Peter, to stir up new enemies against George the First, and to assist cardinal Alberoni in his schemes in every part of Europe. Goertz now paid and received visits publicly from the czar's ministers at the Hague, to whom he declared,
that

that he was invested with full power from the court of Sweden to conclude a peace.

The czar suffered Goertz to dispose all his batteries, without assisting therein himself, and was prepared either to make peace with the king of Sweden, or to carry on the war, and continued still in alliance with the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Prussia, and in appearance with the elector of Hanover.

It was evident, that he had no fixed design, but that of profiting of conjunctures and circumstances, and that his main object was to complete the general establishments he had set on foot. He well knew, that the negotiations and interests of princes, their leagues, their friendships, their jealousies, and their enmities, were subject to change with each revolving year, and that frequently not the smallest traces remain of the greatest efforts in politics. A simple manufactory well established, is often of more real advantage to a state than twenty treaties.

Peter having joined the czarina, who was waiting for him in Holland, continued his travels with her. They crossed Westphalia, and arrived at Berlin in a private manner. The new king of Prussia was as much an enemy to ceremonious vanities, and the pomp of a court, as Peter himself; and it was an instructive lesson to the *etiquette* of Vienna and Spain, the *punctilio* of Italy, and the *politesse* of the French court, to see a king, who only made use of a wooden elbow-chair, who went always in the dress of a common soldier, and who had banished from his table, not only all the luxuries,

ries, but even the more moderate indulgences of life.

The czar and czarina observed the same plain manner of living; and had Charles been with them, the world might have beheld four crowned heads, with less pomp and state about them, than a German bishop, or a cardinal of Rome. Never were luxury and effeminacy opposed by such noble examples.

It cannot be denied, that if one of our fellow-subjects had, from mere curiosity, made the fifth part of the journies that Peter I. did for the good of his kingdom, he would have been considered as an extraordinary person, and one who challenged our consideration. From Berlin he went to Dantzick, still accompanied by his wife, and from thence to Mittau, where he protected his niece, the duchess of Courland, lately become a widow. He visited all the places he had conquered, made several new and useful regulations in Petersburg; he then goes to Moscow, where he rebuilds the houses of several persons that had fallen to ruin; from thence he transports himself to Czaritsin, on the river Wolga, to stop the incursions of the Cuban Tartars, constructs lines of communication from the Wolga to the Don, and erects forts at certain distances, between the two rivers. At the same time he caused the military code, which he had lately composed, to be printed, and erected a court of justice, to examine into the conduct of his ministers, and to retrieve the disorders in his finances; he pardons several who were found guilty, and punishes others. Among the latter was the great prince Menzikoff himself, who stood in need of the royal clemency. But a

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sentence

sentence more severe, which he thought himself obliged to utter against his own son, filled with bitterness those days, which were, in other respects, covered with so much glory.

C H A P. X.

Proceedings against prince ALEXIS PETROWITZ.

PETER the Great, at the age of seventeen, had married, in the year 1689, Eudocia Theodora, or Theodorouna Lapoukin. Bred up in the prejudices of her country, and incapable of surmounting them like her husband, the greatest opposition he met with in erecting his empire, and forming his people, came from her: she was, as is too common to her sex, a slave to superstition; every new and useful alteration she looked upon as a species of sacrilege; and every foreigner, whom the czar employed to execute his great designs, appeared to her no better than as corruptors and innovators.

Her open and public complaints gave encouragement to the factious, and those who were the advocates for ancient customs and manners. Her conduct, in other respects, by no means made amends for such heavy imperfections. The czar was at length obliged to repudiate her in 1696, and shut her up in a convent at Susdal, where they obliged her to take the veil under the name of Helena.

The son, whom he had by her in 1690, was born unhappily with the disposition of his mother, and that disposition received additional strength from his very first education. My memoirs

moirs say, that he was entrusted to the care of superstitious men, who ruined his understanding for ever. 'Twas in vain that they hoped to correct these first impressions, by giving him foreign preceptors ; their very quality of being foreigners disgusted him. He was not born destitute of genius ; he spoke and writ German well ; he had a tolerable notion of designing, and understood something of mathematics ; but these very memoirs affirm, that the reading of ecclesiastical books was the ruin of him. The young Alexis imagined he saw in these books a condemnation of every thing which his father had done. There were some priests at the head of the malcontents, and by the priests he suffered himself to be governed.

They persuaded him that the whole nation looked with horror upon the enterprises of Peter ; that the frequent illnesses of the czar promised but a short life ; and that his son could not hope to please the nation, but by testifying his aversion for all changes of custom. These murmurs, and these counsels, did not break out into an open faction or conspiracy ; but every thing seemed to tend that way, and the tempers of the people were inflamed.

Peter's marriage with Catharine in 1707, and the children which he had by her, began to sour the disposition of the young prince. Peter tried every method to reclaim him ; he even placed him at the head of the regency for a year ; he sent him to travel ; he married him in 1711, at the end of the campaign of Pruth, to the princess of Brunswick. This marriage was attended with great misfortunes. Alexis, now twenty-two years old, gave himself up to the debauchery

chery of youth, and the boorishness of ancient manners he so much delighted in. These irregularities almost brutalized him. His wife, despised, ill-treated, wanting even necessaries, and deprived of all comfort, languished away in disappointment, and died at last of grief, the first of November, 1715.

She left the prince Alexis one son; and, according to the natural order, this son was one day to become heir to the empire. Peter perceived with sorrow, that when he should be no more, all his labours were likely to be destroyed by those of his own blood. After the death of the princess, he wrote a letter to his son, equally tender and resolute: it finished with these words: "I will still wait a little time, "to see if you will correct yourself; if not, "know that I will cut you off from the succession, as we lop off an useless member. "Don't imagine, that I mean only to intimidate you; don't rely upon the title of being "my only son; for, if I spare not my own life "for my country, and the good of my people, "how shall I spare you? I will rather chuse to "leave my kingdom to a foreigner who deserves "it, than to my own son, who makes himself "unworthy of it."

This is the letter of a father, but it is still more the letter of a legislator; it shews us besides, that the order of succession was not invariably established in Russia, as in other kingdoms, by those fundamental laws which take away from fathers the right of disinheriting their children; and the czar believed he had an undoubted prerogative to dispose of an empire, which he had founded.

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At this very time the empress Catharine was brought-to-bed of a prince, who died afterwards in 1719. Whether this news sunk the courage of Alexis, or whether it was imprudence or bad counsel, he wrote to his father, that he renounced the crown, and all hopes of reigning. "I take God to witness, says he, and I swear by my soul, that I will never pretend to the succession. I put my children into your hands, and I desire only a provision for life."

The czar wrote him a second letter, as follows*: "You speak of the succession, as if I
" stood

* As these letters and answers afford the most striking evidence of the czar's prudence, and the prince's insincerity, and will convey to the reader a clear idea of the grounds and motives of this extraordinary transaction, we have inserted the following translation of them. The first letter from the czar to his son, is dated the 27th of October 1715, and displays a noble spirit of religion, with the most ardent desire of leaving a successor who should perpetuate his name and glory to future ages.

'Son, (says the czar to him) you cannot be ignorant of what is known to all the world, that our people groaned under the oppression of the Swedes, before the beginning of this present war. By the usurped possession of many of our maritime ports, so necessary to our state, they cut us off from all commerce with the rest of mankind; and we saw, with deep regret, that they have even cast a mist over the eyes of persons of the greatest discernment, who tamely brooked their slavery, and made no complaints to us. You know how much it cost us at the beginning of this war, to make ourselves thoroughly experienced, and to stand our ground in spite of all the advantages which our irreconcilable enemies gained over us. The Almighty alone has conducted us by his hand, and conducts us still. We submitted to that probationary state with resignation to the will of God, not doubting but it was he who made us pass through it: he has accepted our submission; and the same enemy, before whom we were wont to tremble, now trembles before us. These are effects which, under God's assistance, we owe to our labour, and those of our faithful and affectionate sons, and Russian subjects. But while I survey the successes with which God

“ stood in need of your consent in the disposal
 “ thereof. I reproached you with the aversion
 “ you

blest our arms, if I turn my eyes on the posterity that is to succeed me, my soul is pierced with anguish ; and I have no enjoyment of my present happiness, when I carry my views into futurity. All my felicity vanishes away like a dream, since you, my son, reject all means of rendering yourself capable of governing well after me. Your incapacity is voluntary ; for you cannot excuse yourself from want of genius : it is inclination alone you want. Far less can you plead the want of bodily strength, as if God had not furnished you sufficiently in that respect : for though your constitution be none of the strongest, it cannot be reckoned weak. Yet you will not so much as hear of warlike exercises ; tho’ it is by those means we are risen from that obscurity in which we were buried, and have made ourselves known to the nations about us, whose esteem we now enjoy. I am far from desiring you to cherish in yourself a disposition to make war for its own sake, and without just reasons : all I demand of you is, that you would apply yourself to learn the military art ; because, without understanding the rules of war, it is impossible to be qualified for government. I might set before your eyes many examples of what I propose to you ; but shall only mention the Greeks, with whom we are united by the same profession of faith. Whence came the declension of their empire, but from the neglect of arms ? Sloth and inaction have subjected them to tyrants, and that slavery under which they have groaned. You are much mistaken, if you imagine it is enough for a prince that he have good generals to act under his orders : no, my son ; it is upon the chief himself that the eyes of the world are fixed ; they study his inclinations, and easily slide into the imitation of his manners. My brother, during his reign, loved magnificence in dress, and splendid equipages, and horses richly caparisoned ; the taste of this country was not much formed that way ; but the pleasures of the prince soon became those of the subjects, who are readily led to imitate him both in the objects of his love and disgust. If people are so easily engaged from things that are only for pleasure, will they not be still more prone to forget, and in process of time wholly to lay aside the use of arms, the exercise of which grows the more irksome the less they are habituated to them ? You have no inclination to learn the profession of war ; you do not apply yourself to it ; and consequently will never know it. How then will you be able to command others, and to judge of the rewards which those subjects deserve who do their duty, or of the
 punishments

“ you have shewn to all kind of business, and signified to you, that I was highly dissatisfied with
“ your

punishment due to such as fall short of obedience? You must judge only by other people's eyes; and will be considered as a young bird, which, reaching out his beak, is as ready to receive poison, as proper nourishment. You say, the infirm state of your health makes you unfit to bear the fatigues of war: but that is a frivolous excuse. I desire you not to undergo the fatigues of that profession, though it is there that all great captains are begun; but I wish you had an inclination to the military art; and reason may give it you, if you have it not from nature. Had you once this inclination, it would occupy your thoughts at all times, even in your hours of sickness. Ask those who remember my brother's reign: his state of health was much more infirm than your's; he could not manage a horse of never so little mettle, nor hardly mount him; yet he loved horses, and perhaps there never will be in the country finer stables than his. Hence you see, that success does not always depend upon personal labour, but upon the inclination. If you think that there are princes, whose affairs fail not to succeed, tho' they go not to the war in person, you are in the right; but if they go not to the field of battle, they have however an inclination to go, and are acquainted with the military art. For instance, the late king of France did not always take the field himself; but we know to what degree he was a lover of war, and how many glorious exploits he performed therein; which made his campaigns be called the theatre and school of the world. The bent of that prince's mind was not turned to military affairs only, he had also a taste for the polite arts, for manufactures, and other institutions, which have made his kingdom more flourishing than any other. After all these remonstrances which I have laid before you, I return to my first subject, which immediately concerns yourself. I am a man, and consequently must die: to whom shall I leave the care of finishing what by God's grace I have begun, and of preserving what I have in part recovered. To a son who, like that slothful servant in the gospel, buries his talent in the earth, and neglects to improve what God has committed to his trust? How often have I reproached you for your sullenness and indocility? I have been obliged to chastise you on that account. For those several years past, I have hardly spoke to you, because I almost despair of bringing you back to the right way; discouraged and disheartened by the fruitlessness of all my endeavours. You loiter on in supine

“ your conduct in general ; but to these particu-
 “ lars you have given me no answer. Paternal
 “ exhor-

indolence ; abandoning yourself to shameful pleasures, without extending your foresight to the dangerous consequences which such a conduct must produce both to yourself and the whole state : you confine yourself to the government of your own house, and in that station you acquit yourself very ill ; St. Paul has told us, “ he that knows not how to govern his own “ house, how shall he be able to rule the church of God ? ” In like manner I say to you, since you know not how to manage your domestick affairs, how can you be able to govern a kingdom ? I am determined, at last, to signify to you my final purpose ; being willing, however, to defer the execution of it for a short time, to see if you will reform ; if not, know that I am resolved to deprive you of the succession, as I would lop off an useless branch. Do not imagine, that because I have no other child but you †, I mean by this only to intimidate you : I will most certainly execute my resolution ; and God requires it of me. For, since I spare not my own life for the sake of my country and the welfare of my people, why should I allow an effeminate prince to ascend the throne after me, who would sacrifice the interest of the subject to his pleasures ? and should he be obliged to expose his life in their behalf, would leave them to perish, rather than redress their grievances. I will call in a mere stranger to the crown, if he be but worthy of that honour, sooner than my own son, if he is unworthy.

PETER.

To this letter the czarowitz replied, ‘ Most gracious sovereign and father, I have read the letter which your majesty sent me of the 27th of October 1715, after the interment of my wife ; and all the answer I can make to it is, that if your majesty is determined to deprive me of the succession to the crown of Russia, on account of my inability, your will be done. I even request it of you very earnestly ; because I judge not myself fit for government. My memory is greatly impaired ; and without memory there is no managing affairs. The powers both of my body and mind are much weakened by the diseases to which I have been incident, and I am thereby incapacitated for the rule of so great a people. Such a charge requires a man far more vigorous than I am. For these reasons I am not ambitious to succeed

† This letter was written about eight days before the birth of Peter Petrowitz, the czar’s second son.

“ exhortations make no impression on you;
 “ wherefore I resolve to write you this once for
 “ the last time. If you despise the advices I
 “ give you while I am alive, what regard will
 “ you pay to them after my death ? but though
 “ you had the inclination at present to be true
 “ to your promises, yet a corrupt priesthood
 “ will be able to turn you at pleasure, and force
 “ you to falsify them. They have no depen-
 “ dence but upon you. You have no sense of
 “ gratitude towards him who gave you your
 “ being. Have you ever assisted him in toils and
 “ labours since you arrived at the age of matu-
 “ rity ? Do you not censure and condemn, nay,
 “ even affect to hold in detestation, whatever I
 “ do for the good of my people ? In a word, I
 “ have reason to conclude, that if you survive
 “ me, you will overturn every thing that I have
 “ done. Take your choice, either endeavour
 “ to make yourself worthy of that throne, or
 “ embrace a monastic state. I expect your an-
 “ swer, either in writing, or by word of mouth,

succeed you (whom God preserve through a length of years) in
 the crown of Russia, even though I had no brother, as I have
 one at present, whom God long preserve. As little will I for
 the future set up any claim to the succession ; to the truth of
 which I solemnly swear, taking God to be my witness ; and in
 testimony whereof I write and sign these presents. I put my
 children into your hands ; and for myself I ask no more of you
 than a bare maintenance during my life, leaving the whole to
 your pleasure.

Your humble servant and son,

ALEXIS.”

Peter soon penetrated through the disguise his son had assum-
 ed, and therefore wrote him the above letter, dated January 19,
 1716, and which he called his “ Last Admonition.”

“ otherwise I shall treat you as a common malefactor.”

This letter was very severe, and it was easy for the prince to have replied, that he would alter his conduct; instead of which, he only returned a short answer to his father, desiring permission to turn monk *.

This resolution appeared altogether unnatural; and it may furnish matter of surprise, that the czar should think of travelling, and leaving a son at home so obstinate and ill-affected; but, at the same time, his doing so, is next to a proof, that he thought he had no reason to apprehend a conspiracy from that son.

The czar, before he set out for Germany and France, went to pay his son a visit. The prince, who was at that time ill, or at least feigned himself so, received his father in his bed, where he protested, with the most solemn oaths, that he was ready to retire into a cloister. The czar gave him six months to consider of it, and then set out on his travels with the czarina.

No sooner was he arrived at Copenhagen, than he heard (what he might reasonably expect) that the czarowitz conversed only with factious and evil-minded persons, who strove to feed his discontent. Upon this the czar wrote to him, that he had only to chuse between a throne and a convent; and that, if he had any thoughts of

* This letter was couched in the following terms: “ Most gracious sovereign and father, yesterday morning I received your letter, of the 19th of this month: my indisposition hinders me from writing to you at large, but I am willing to embrace the monastic state, and I beg your gracious consent thereto.

Your servant, and

unworthy son,

ALEXIS.”

Luc-

succeeding him, he must immediately set out and join him at Copenhagen.

But the confidants of the prince remonstrating to him how dangerous it would be to trust himself in a place where he could have no friends to advise him, and where he would be exposed to the anger of an incensed father, and the machinations of a revengeful step-mother ; he, under pretence of going to join his father at Copenhagen, took the road to Vienna, and threw himself under the protection of the emperor Charles VI. his brother-in-law, intending to remain at his court till the death of the czar.

This adventure of the czarowitz was nearly the same as that of Lewis XI. of France, who, when he was dauphin, quitted the court of his father Charles VII. and took refuge with the duke of Burgundy ; but the dauphin was much more culpable than Alexis, inasmuch as he married in direct opposition to his father's will, raised an army against him, and threw himself into the arms of a prince, who was Charles's declared enemy, and refused to hearken to the repeated instances of his father, to return back to his court.

The czarowitz, on the contrary, had married only in compliance with his father's orders, had never rebelled against him, nor raised an army, nor taken refuge in the dominions of an enemy, and returned to throw himself at his feet, upon the very first letter he received from him : for, as soon as Peter knew that his son had been at Vienna, and had afterwards retired to Tyrol, and from thence to Naples, which, at that time, belonged to the emperor, he dispatched Romanzoff, a captain of his guards, and the privy coun-

sellor Tolstoy, with a letter written with his own hand, and dated at Spa, the 21st July, N. S. 1717. They found the prince at Naples, in the castle of St. Elme, and delivered him his father's letter, which was as follows :

“ I now write to you for the last time, to acquaint you, that you must instantly comply with my orders, which will be communicated to you by Tolstoy and Romanzoff. If you obey, I give you my sacred word and promise, that I will not punish you ; and that if you will return home, I will love you more than ever ; but if you do not, I, as your father, and in virtue of the authority which God has given me over you, denounce against you my eternal curse ; and, as your sovereign, declare to you, that I will find means to punish your disobedience, in which I trust God himself will assist me, and espouse the just cause of an injured parent and king.

“ For the rest, remember that I have never laid any restraint upon you. Was I obliged to leave you at liberty to chuse your way of life ? Had I not the power in my own hands to oblige you to conform to my will ? I had only to command, and make myself obeyed.”

The viceroy of Naples found it no difficult matter to persuade the czarowitz to return to his father. This is an incontestable proof that the emperor had no intentions to enter into any engagements with the prince, that might give umbrage to his father. Alexis therefore returned with the envoys, bringing with him his mistress, Aphrosyne, who had been the companion of his elopement,

We

We may consider the czarowitz as an ill advised young man, who had gone to Vienna, and to Naples, instead of going to Copenhagen, agreeable to the orders of his father and sovereign. Had he been guilty of no other crime than this, which is common enough with young and giddy persons, it was certainly very excusable. The prince determined to return to his father, on the faith of his having taken God to witness, that he not only would pardon him, but that he would love him better than ever. But it appears by the instructions given to the two envoys who went to fetch him back, and even by the czar's own letter, that his father required him to declare the persons who had been his counsellors, and also to fulfil the oath he had made of renouncing the succession.

It seemed difficult to reconcile this exclusion of the czarowitz from the succession with the other part of the oath, by which the czar had bound himself in his letter, namely, that of loving his son better than ever. Perhaps, divided between paternal love, and the justice he owed to himself and people, as a sovereign, he might limit the renewal of his affection to his son in a convent, instead of to that son on a throne; perhaps, likewise, he was in hopes to reduce him to reason, and to render him worthy of the succession at last, by making him sensible of the loss of a crown which he had forfeited by his own indiscretion. In a circumstance so uncommon, so intricate, and so afflicting, it may easily be supposed that the minds of both father and son were under equal perturbation, and hardly consistent with themselves.

The

The prince arrived at Moscow on the 13th February, N. S. 1717, and the same day went to throw himself at his father's feet, who was returned to that city from his travels. They had a long conference together, and a report was immediately spread thro' the city, that the prince and his father were reconciled, and that all past transactions were buried in oblivion. But the next day, orders were issued for the regiments of guards to be under arms at break of day, and for all the czar's ministers, boyards, and counsellors, to repair to the great hall of the castle; as also for the prelates, together with two monks of St. Basil, professors of divinity, to assemble in the cathedral, at the tolling of the great bell. The unhappy prince was then conducted to the great castle like a prisoner, and being come in his father's presence, threw himself in tears at his feet, and presented a writing, containing a confession of his faults, declaring himself unworthy of the succession, and imploring only that his life might be spared*.

* The prince's renunciation was couched in the following terms :

" I, the undernamed, declare upon the Holy Gospel, that, on account of the crimes I have committed against his czarish majesty, my father and sovereign, as set forth in his manifesto; I am, through my own fault, excluded from the throne of Russia. Therefore, I confess and acknowledge that exclusion to be just, as having merited it by my own fault and unworthiness; and I hereby oblige myself, and swear in the presence of Almighty God, in unity of nature, and trinity of persons, as my supreme judge, to submit in all things to my father's will, never to set up a claim or pretension to the succession, or accept of it under any pretext whatever, acknowledging my brother Peter Petrowitz as lawful successor to the crown. In testimony whereof, I kiss the holy cross, and sign these presents with my own hand.

" ALEXIS."

The

The czar, raising up his son, withdrew with him into a private room, where he put many questions to him, declaring to him at the same time, that if he concealed any one circumstance relating to his elopement, his life should answer for it. The prince was then brought back to the great hall, where the council was assembled, and the czar's declaration, which had been previously prepared, was there publicly read in his presence †.

In

† As this extraordinary piece cannot fail of being interesting to most part of our readers, we have ventured to subjoin the whole of it in a note, our author having only given some few extracts.

The CZAR's DECLARATION.

‘ Peter I. by the grace of God, czar and emperor of Russia,
 ‘ &c. to all our faithful subjects, ecclesiastical, military, and
 ‘ civil, of all the states of the Russian nation. It is notorious,
 ‘ and well known to the greatest part of our faithful subjects,
 ‘ and chiefly to those who live in the places of our residence, or
 ‘ who are in our service, with how much care and application
 ‘ we have caused our eldest son Alexis to be brought up and edu-
 ‘ cated; having given him for that purpose, from his infancy,
 ‘ tutors to teach him the Russian tongue, and foreign languages,
 ‘ and to instruct him in all arts and sciences, in order not only
 ‘ to bring him up in our christian orthodox faith of the Greek
 ‘ profession, but also in the knowledge of political and military
 ‘ affairs, and likewise in the constitution of foreign countries,
 ‘ their customs and languages; thro’ the reading of history,
 ‘ and other books, in all manner of sciences, becoming a prince
 ‘ of his high rank, he might acquire the qualifications worthy
 ‘ of a successor to our throne of Great Russia. Nevertheless,
 ‘ we have seen with grief, that all attention and care, for the
 ‘ education and instruction of our son, proved ineffectual and
 ‘ useless, seeing he always swerved from his filial obedience,
 ‘ shewing no application for what was becoming a worthy suc-
 ‘ cessor, and slighting the precepts of the masters we had ap-
 ‘ pointed for him; but, on the contrary, frequenting disorderly
 ‘ persons, from whom he could learn nothing good, or that
 ‘ would be advantageous and useful to him. We have not ne-
 ‘ glected

In this piece the czar reproaches his son with all those faults we have before related, namely, his

‘ neglected often to endeavour to reclaim, and bring him back to
 ‘ his duty, sometimes by caresses and gentle means, sometimes
 ‘ by reprimands, sometimes by paternal corrections. We have
 ‘ more than once taken him with us into our army and the
 ‘ field, that he might be instructed in the art of war, as one of
 ‘ the chief sciences for the defence of his country ; guarding
 ‘ him, at the same time, from all hazard of the succession, tho’
 ‘ we exposed ourself to manifest perils and dangers. We have
 ‘ at other times left him at Moscow, putting into his hands a
 ‘ sort of regency in the empire, in order to form him in the art
 ‘ of government, and that he might learn how to reign after us.
 ‘ We have likewise sent him into foreign countries, in hopes
 ‘ and expectation, that seeing, in his travels, governments so
 ‘ well regulated, this would excite in him some emulation, and
 ‘ an inclination to apply himself to do well. But all our care
 ‘ has been fruitless, and like the seed of the doctrine fallen
 ‘ upon a rock ; for he has not only refused to follow that which
 ‘ is good, but even is come to hate it, without shewing any in-
 ‘ clination, or disposition, either for military or political af-
 ‘ fairs, hourly and continually conversing with base and disorderly
 ‘ persons, whose morals are rude and abominable. As we
 ‘ were resolved to endeavour, by all imaginable means, to re-
 ‘ claim him from that disorderly course, and inspire him with
 ‘ an inclination to converse with persons of virtue and honour,
 ‘ we exhorted him to chuse a consort among the chief foreign
 ‘ houses, as usual in other countries, and hath been practised by
 ‘ our ancestors the czars of Russia, who have contracted alli-
 ‘ ances by marriages with other sovereign houses, and we have
 ‘ left him at liberty to make a choice. He declared his incli-
 ‘ nation for the princess, grand-daughter of the duke of Wol-
 ‘ senbottle then reigning, sister-in-law to his imperial majesty,
 ‘ the emperor of the Romans now reigning, and cousin to the
 ‘ king of Great-Britain ; and having desired us to procure him
 ‘ that alliance, and permit him to marry that princess, we
 ‘ readily consented thereunto, without any regard to the great
 ‘ expence which was necessarily occasioned by that marriage.
 ‘ But, after its consummation, we found ourselves disappointed
 ‘ of the hopes we had, that the change in the condition of our
 ‘ son would produce good fruits, and change in his bad inclina-
 ‘ tions ; for, notwithstanding his spouse was, as far as we
 ‘ have been able to observe, a wife sprightly princess, and of a
 ‘ virtuous conduct, and that he himself had chosen her, he
 ‘ never-

his little application to study, his connections with the favourers of the ancient customs and manners

‘ nevertheless lived with her in the greatest disunion, while
 ‘ he redoubled his affection for lewd people, bringing thereby a
 ‘ disgrace upon our house in the eyes of foreign powers, to
 ‘ whom that princess was related, which drew upon us many
 ‘ complaints and reproaches. Our frequent advices and exhortations to him, to reform his conduct, proved ineffectual, and
 ‘ he at last violated the conjugal faith, and gave his affection to
 ‘ a prostitute of the most servile and low condition, living publicly in that crime with her, to the great contempt of his
 ‘ lawful spouse, who soon after died; and it was believed that
 ‘ her grief, occasioned by the disorderly life of her husband, hastened the end of her days. When we saw his resolution to
 ‘ persevere in his vicious courses, we declared to him, at the funeral of his consort, that if he did not for the future conform to our will, and apply himself to things becoming a
 ‘ prince, presumptive heir to so great an empire, we would deprive him of the succession, without any regard to his being
 ‘ our only son (our second son was not then born) and that
 ‘ he ought not to rely upon his being such, because we would rather chuse for our successor a stranger worthy thereof, than
 ‘ an unworthy son; that we could not leave our empire to such a successor, who would ruin and destroy what we have, by
 ‘ God’s assistance, established, and tarnish the glory and honour of the Russian nation, for the acquiring of which we had sacrificed our ease and our health, and willingly exposed our life
 ‘ on several occasions; besides, that the fear of God’s judgment would not permit us to leave the government of such vast territories in the hands of one whose insufficiency and unworthiness we were not ignorant of. In short, we exhorted him in
 ‘ the most pressing terms we could make use of, to behave himself with discretion, and gave him time to repent and return
 ‘ to his duty. His answer to these remonstrance was, that he acknowledged himself guilty in all these points; but alleged the weakness of his parts and genius, which did not
 ‘ permit him to apply himself to the sciences, and other functions recommended to him: he owned himself incapable of
 ‘ our succession, and desired us to discharge him from the same. Nevertheless, we continued to exhort him with a paternal
 ‘ affection, and joining menaces to our exhortations, we forgot nothing to bring him back to the right way. The operations of
 ‘ the war having obliged us to repair to Denmark, we left him at Petersburg, to give him time to return to his duty, and
 ‘ amend

manners of the country, and his ill behaviour to his wife. “ He has even violated the conjugal
“ faith,

“ amend his ways; and afterwards, upon the repeated advices
“ we received of the continuance of his disorderly life, we sent
“ him orders to come to us at Copenhagen, to make the campaign, that he might thereby the better form himself. But,
“ forgetting the fear and commandments of God, who enjoins
“ obedience even to private parents, and much more to those
“ who are at the same time sovereigns, our paternal cares had no
“ other return than unheard-of ingratitude; for instead of coming to us as we ordered, he withdrew, with large sums of money, and his infamous concubine, with whom he continued to
“ live in a criminal course, and put himself under the protection
“ of the emperor, raising against us, his father and his lord, numberless calumnies and false reports, as if we did persecute him,
“ and intended, without cause, to deprive him of the succession;
“ alledging moreover, that even his life was not safe if he continued with us, and desired the emperor not only to give him
“ refuge in his dominions, but also to protect him against us by
“ force of arms. Every one may judge, what shame and dishonour this conduct of our son hath drawn upon us and our empire, in the face of the whole world; the like instance is hardly to be found in history. The emperor, tho’ informed of his
“ excesses, and how he had lived with his consort, sister-in-law to his imperial majesty, thought fit, however, upon these pressing instances, to appoint him a place where he might reside; and he desired farther, that he might be so private there, that
“ we might not come to the knowledge of it. Mean while his long stay having made us fear, out of a tender and fatherly affection for him, that some misfortune had befallen him, we sent
“ persons several ways to get intelligence of him, and after a great deal of trouble, we were at last informed by the captain
“ of our guard, Alexander Romanzoff, that he was privately kept in an imperial fortress at Tyrol; whereupon we wrote a
“ letter, with our own hand, to the emperor, to desire that he might be sent back to us; but, notwithstanding the emperor
“ acquainted him with our demands, and exhorted him to return to us, and submit to our will, as being his father and lord, yet he alledged, with a great many calumnies against us, that
“ he ought not to be delivered into our hands, as if we had been his enemy, and a tyrant, from whom he had nothing to expect
“ but death. In short, he persuaded his imperial majesty, instead of sending him back at that time to us, to remove him to some
“ remote place in his dominions, namely, Naples in Italy, and
“ keep

“ faith (saith the czar in his manifesto) by giving his affection to a prostitute of the most
“ servile

“ keep him there secretly in the castle, under a borrowed name.
“ Nevertheless, we having notice of the place where he was, did
“ thereupon dispatch to the emperor our privy counsellor Peter
“ Tolstoy, and the captain of our guard aforesaid, with a most
“ pressing letter, representing how unjust it would be to detain
“ our son, contrary to all laws divine and human, according to
“ which private parents, and with much more reason those who
“ are besides invested with a sovereign authority as we are, have
“ an unlimited power over their children, independently of any
“ other judge ; and we set forth on one side, the just and affectionate manner with which we had always used our son, and
“ on the other, his disobedience ; representing in the conclusion,
“ the ill consequences and animosities which the refusal of delivering up our son to us might occasion, because we could not
“ leave this affair in that condition. We, at the same time,
“ ordered those we sent with that letter, to make verbal remonstrances even in most pressing terms, and to declare that we
“ should be obliged to revenge, by all possible methods, such detaining our son. We wrote likewise a letter to him with our
“ own hand, to represent to him the horror and impiety of his
“ conduct, and the enormity of the crime he had committed
“ against us his father, and how God threatened in his laws to
“ punish disobedient children with eternal death : we threatened
“ him, as a father, with our curses, and, as his lord, to declare
“ him a traitor to his country, unless he returned, and obeyed
“ our commands ; and gave him assurance, that if he did as we
“ desired, and returned, we would pardon his crime. Our envoys, after many solicitations, and the above representation
“ made by us in writing, at last obtained leave of the emperor
“ to go and speak to our son, in order to dispose him to return
“ home. The imperial minister gave them at the same time
“ to understand, that our son had informed the emperor that we
“ persecuted him, and that his life was not safe with us,
“ whereby he moved the emperor's compassion, and induced
“ him to take him into his protection ; but that the emperor, taking now into his consideration our true and solid representations, promised to use his utmost endeavours
“ to dispose him to return to us ; and would moreover declare to him, that he could not in justice and equity refuse to deliver him to his father, or have any difference
“ with us on that account. Our envoys, upon their arrival at
“ Naples, having desired to deliver to him our letter, written
“ with

“servile and low condition, during the life-time
“of his lawful spouse.” It is certain that Pe-

ter

‘with our hand, sent us word, that he did refuse to admit
‘them; but that the emperor’s viceroy had found means, by in-
‘viting him to his house, to present them to him afterwards,
‘much against his will. He did then, indeed, receive our let-
‘ter, containing our paternal exhortation, and threatening our
‘curse, but without shewing the least inclination to return;
‘alleging still a great many falsties and calumnies against us,
‘as if, by reason of several dangers he had to apprehend from
‘us, he could not, nor would not return; and boasting, that
‘the emperor had not only promised to defend and protect him
‘against us, but even to set him upon the throne of Russia
‘against our will, by force of arms. Our envoys perceiv-
‘ing this evil disposition, tried all imaginable ways to prevail
‘with him to return, they intreated him, they expatiated by
‘turns upon the graciousness of our assurances towards him,
‘and upon our threats in case of disobedience, and that we
‘would even bring him away by force of arms; they declar-
‘ed to him, that the emperor would not enter into a war with
‘us on his account, and many other such like representations
‘did they make to him. But he paid no regard to all
‘this, nor shewed any inclination to return to us, until the im-
‘perial viceroy, convinced at last of his obstinacy, told him,
‘in the emperor’s name, that he ought to return; for that
‘his imperial majesty could not by any law keep him from
‘us, nor, during the present war with Turkey, and also in
‘Italy with Spain, embroil himself with us upon his account.
‘When he saw how the case stood, fearing he should be deliver-
‘ed up to us whether he would or not, he at length resolved
‘to return home; and declared his mind to our envoys, and
‘to the imperial viceroy; he likewise wrote the same thing
‘to us, acknowledged himself to be a criminal, and blame-
‘worthy. Now although our son, by so long a course of cri-
‘minal disobedience against us, his father and lord, for many
‘years, and particularly for the dishonour he hath cast upon us
‘in the face of the world, by withdrawing himself, and raising
‘calumnies against us, as if we were an unnatural father, and
‘for opposing his sovereign, hath deserved to be punished with
‘death; yet our paternal affection inclines us to have mercy
‘upon him, and we therefore pardon his crimes, and exempt
‘him from all punishment for the same. But considering his
‘unworthiness, we cannot in conscience leave him after us
‘the succession to the throne of Russia; foreseeing, that, by his
‘vicious

ter himself had repudiated his own wife in favour of a captive, but that captive was a person of exemplary merit, and the czar had just cause for discontent against his wife, who was at the same time his subject. The czarowitz, on the contrary,

' vicious courses, he would entirely destroy the glory of our nation and the safety of our dominions, which, through God's assistance, we have acquired and established by incessant application; for it is notorious and known to every one, how much it hath cost us, and with what efforts we have not only recovered the provinces which the enemy had usurped from our empire, but also conquered several considerable towns and countries, and with what care we have caused our people to be instructed in all sorts of civil and military sciences, to the glory and advantage of the nation and empire. Now, as we should pity our states and faithful subjects, if, by such a successor, we should throw them back into a much worse condition than ever they were yet; so, by the paternal authority, in virtue of which, by the laws of our empire, any of our subjects may disinherit a son, and give his succession to such other of his sons as he pleases; and, in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our said son Alexis, for his crimes and unworthiness, of the succession after us to the throne of Russia, even though there should not remain one single person of our family after us. And we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son Peter, though yet very young, having no successor that is older. We lay upon our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever at any time he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession; and we desire our faithful subjects, whether ecclesiastics, or seculars, of all ranks and conditions, and the whole Russian nation, in conformity to this constitution and our will, to acknowledge and consider our said son Peter, appointed by our constitution, to confirm the whole by oath, before the holy altar, upon the holy gospel, kissing the cross; and all those who shall ever, at any time, oppose this our will, and who, from this day forward, shall dare to consider our son Alexis, as successor, or to assist him for that purpose, declare them traitors to us and their country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be every where published and promulgated, to the end that no person may pretend ignorance. Given at Moscow, the third of February, 1718. Signed with our hand, and sealed with our seal.

PETER.'

trary, had abandoned his princeſs for a young woman, hardly known to any one, and who had no other merit than that of personal charms. So far there appears ſome errors of a young man, which a parent ought to reprimand in ſecret, and which he might have pardoned.

The czar, in his manifeſto, next reproaches his ſon with his flight to Vienna, and his having put himſelf under the emperor's protection; and adds, that "he had calumniated his father," by telling the emperor that he was persecuted by him; and that he had compelled him to renounce the ſucceſſion; and laſtly, that he had made interceſſion with the emperor to aſſiſt him with an armed force.

Here it immediately occurs, that the emperor could not, with any propriety, have entered into a war with the czar on ſuch an occaſion; nor could he have interpoſed otherwiſe between an incenſed father and a diſobedient ſon, than by his good offices, to promote a reconciliation. Accordingly we find, that Charles VI. contented himſelf with giving a temporary aſylum to the fugitive prince, and readily ſent him back on the firſt requiſition of the czar, in conſequence of being informed of the place his ſon had choſen for his retreat.

Peter adds, in this terrible piece, that Alexis had perſuaded the emperor, "that he went in danger of his life," if he returned back to Ruſſia. Surely it was in ſome meaſure juſtifying theſe complaints of the prince, to condemn him to death at his return, and eſpecially after ſo ſolemn a promiſe to pardon him; but we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory the cauſe which afterwards moved the czar to denounce this ever-memorable

able sentence. For the present let us turn our eyes upon an absolute prince, pleading against his son before an august assembly.

“ In this manner, says he, has our son returned ; and although by his withdrawing himself and raising calumnies against us, he has deserved to be punished with death, yet out of our paternal affection we pardon his crimes ; but considering his unworthiness, and the series of his irregular conduct, we cannot in conscience leave him the succession to the throne of Russia ; foreseeing that by his vicious courses, he would after our decease entirely destroy the glory of our nation and the safety of our dominions, which we have recovered from the enemy.

“ Now, as we should pity our states and our faithful subjects, if, by such a successor, we should throw them back into a much worse condition than ever they were yet ; so, by the paternal authority, and, in quality of sovereign prince, in consideration of the safety of our dominions, we do deprive our said son Alexis, for his crimes and unworthiness, of the succession after us to our throne of Russia, even though there should not remain one single person of our family after us.

“ And we do constitute and declare successor to the said throne after us, our second son Peter*, though yet very young, having no successor that is older.

“ We lay upon our said son Alexis our paternal curse, if ever at any time he pretends to, or reclaims, the said succession.

* This was the son of the empress Catharine, who died April 15, 1719.

“ And

“ And we desire our faithful subjects, whether ecclesiastic or seculars, of all ranks and conditions, and the whole Russian nation, in conformity to this constitution and our will, to acknowledge and consider our son Peter, appointed by us to succeed, as lawful successor, and agreeably to this our constitution, to confirm the whole by oath before the holy altar, upon the holy gospel, kissing the cross.

“ And all those who shall ever at any time oppose this our will, and who from this day forward shall dare to consider our son Alexis as successor, or assist him for that purpose, declare them traitors to us and our country. And we have ordered that these presents shall be every where published and promulgated, to the end that no person may pretend ignorance.”

It would seem that this declaration had been prepared beforehand for the occasion, or that it had been drawn up with amazing dispatch; for the czarowitz did not return to Moscow till the 13th of February, and his renunciation in favour of the empress Catherine's son is dated the 14th.

The prince on his part signed his renunciation, whereby “ he acknowledges his exclusion to be just, as having merited it by his own fault and unworthiness; and I do hereby swear (adds he) in presence of God Almighty in the Holy Trinity, to submit in all things to my father's will, &c.”

These instruments being signed, the czar went in procession to the cathedral, where they were read a second time, when the whole body
of

of clergy signed their approbation with their seals at the bottom, to a copy prepared for that purpose *. No prince was ever disinherited in so authentic a manner. There are many states in which an act of this kind would be of no validity ; but in Russia, as in ancient Rome, every father has a power of depriving his son of his succession, and this power was still stronger in a sovereign than in a private subject, and especially in such a sovereign as Peter.

But nevertheless it was to be apprehended, that those who had encouraged the prince in his opposition to his father's will, and had advised him to withdraw himself from his court, might one day endeavour to set aside a renunciation which had been procured by force, and restore to the eldest son that crown which had been violently snatched from him to place on the head of a younger brother by a second marriage. In this case it was easy to foresee a civil war, and a total subversion of all the great and useful pro-

* At the same time confirming it by an oath, the form of which was as follows : ' I swear before Almighty God, and upon his holy gospel, that whereas our most gracious sovereign, the czar Peter Alexowitz, has caused circular letters to be published through his empire, to notify that he has thought fit to exclude his son prince Alexis Petrowitz from the throne of Russia, and to appoint for his successor to the crown his second son the prince royal Peter Petrowitz ; I do acknowledge this order and regulation made by his majesty in favour of the said prince Peter Petrowitz, to be just and lawful, and entirely conform and submit myself to the same ; promising always to acknowledge the said prince royal Peter Petrowitz for his lawful successor, and to stand by him on all occasions ; even to loss of my life, against all such as shall presume to oppose the said succession ; and that I never will, on any pretence whatsoever, assist the prince Alexis Petrowitz, nor in any manner whatsoever contribute to procure him the succession. And this I solemnly promise by my oath upon the holy gospel, kissing the holy cross thereupon.'

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jects which Peter had so much laboured to establish; and therefore the present matter in question was to determine between the welfare of near eighteen millions of souls (which was nearly the number which the empire of Russia contained at that time) and the interests of a single person incapable of governing. Hence it became necessary to find out those that were disaffected, and accordingly the czar a second time threatened his son with the most fatal consequences if he concealed any thing: and the prince was obliged to undergo a juridical examination by his father, and afterwards by the commissioners appointed for that purpose.

One principal article of the charge brought against him, and that which served chiefly to his condemnation, was, a letter from one Beyer, the emperor's resident at the court of Russia, dated at Petersburg; after the flight of the prince. This letter makes mention of a mutiny in the Russian army then assembled at Mecklenbourg, and that several of the officers talked of clapping up Catharine and her son in the prison where the late empress, whom Peter had repudiated, was then confined, and of placing the czarowitz on the throne as soon as he could be found out and brought back. These idle projects fell to the ground of themselves, and there was not the least appearance that Alexis had ever countenanced them. The whole was only a piece of news related by a foreigner: the letter itself was not directed to the prince, and he had only a copy thereof transmitted him while at Vienna.

But a charge of a more grievous nature appeared against him, namely, the heads of
a letter

a letter written with his own hand, and which he had sent, while at the court of Vienna, to the senators and prelates of Russia, in which were the following very strong assertions: "The continual ill-treatment which I have suffered without having deserved it, have at length obliged me to consult my peace and safety by flight. I have narrowly escaped being confined in a convent, by those who have already served my mother in the same manner, I am now under the protection of a great prince, and I beseech you not to abandon me in this conjuncture."

The expression, *in this conjuncture*, which might be construed into a seditious meaning, appeared to have been blotted out, and then inserted again by his own hand, and afterwards blotted out a second time; which shewed it to be the action of a young man disturbed in his mind, following the dictates of his resentment, and repenting of it at the very instant. There were only the copies of these letters found: they were never sent to the persons they were designed for, the court of Vienna having taken care to stop them; a convincing proof that the emperor never intended to break with the czar, or to assist the son to take arms against his father.

Several witnesses were brought to confront the prince, and one of them, named Afanassief, deposed, that he had formerly heard him speak these words, "I shall mention something to the bishops, who will mention it again to the lower clergy, and they to the parish-priests, and the crown will be placed on my head whether I will or not."

His own mistress Aphrosyne was likewise brought to give evidence against him. The charge however was not well supported in all its parts; there did not appear to have been any regular plan formed, any chain of intrigues, or any thing like a conspiracy or combination, nor the least shadow of preparation for a change in the government. The whole affair was that of a son, of a depraved and factious disposition, who thought himself injured by his father, who fled from him, and who wished for his death; but this son was heir to the greatest monarchy in our hemisphere, and in his situation and place he could not been guilty of trivial faults.

After the accusation of his mistress, another witness was brought against him, in relation to the former czarina his mother, and the princess Mary his sister. He was charged with having consulted the former in regard to his flight, and of having mentioned it to the princess Mary. The bishop of Rostow, who was the confident of all three, having been seized, deposed, that the two princesses, who were then shut up in a convent, had expressed their wishes for a revolution in affairs that might restore them their liberty, and had even encouraged the prince by their advice, to withdraw himself out of the kingdom. The more natural their resentment was, the more it was to be apprehended. We shall see at the end of this chapter, what kind of a person this bishop of Rostow was, and what had been his conduct.

The czarowitz at first denied several facts of this nature which were alledged against him, and by this very behaviour subjected himself to
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the punishment of death with which his father had threatened him, in case he did not make an open and sincere confession.

At last, however, he acknowledged several disrespectful expressions against his father, which were laid to his charge, but excused himself by saying, he had been hurried away by passion and drink.

The czar himself drew up several new interrogations. The fourth ran as follows :

“ When you found by Beyer’s letter that there was a mutiny among the troops in Mecklenbourg, you seemed pleased with it; you must certainly have had some reason for it? and I imagine you would have joined the rebels even during my life-time?”

This was interrogating the prince on the subjects of his private thoughts, which, though they might be revealed to a father, who may, by his advice, correct them, yet might they also with justice be concealed from a judge, who decides only upon acknowledged facts. The private sentiments of a man’s heart have nothing to do in a criminal process, and the prince was at liberty either to deny them or disguise them, in such a manner as he should think best for his own safety, as being under no obligation to lay open his heart, and yet we find him returning the following answer : “ If the rebels had called upon me during your life-time, I do verily believe I should have joined them, supposing I had found them sufficiently strong.”

It is hardly conceivable that he could have made this reply of himself, and it would be full as extraordinary, at least according to the cus-

tom in our part of the world, to condemn a person for confessing that he might have thought in a certain manner in a conjuncture that never happened.

To this strange confession of his private thoughts, which had till then been concealed in the bottom of his heart, they added proofs which would hardly be admitted as such in a court of justice in any other country.

The prince sinking under his misfortunes, and almost deprived of his senses, studied within himself, with all the ingenuity of fear, for whatever could most effectually serve for his destruction; and at length acknowledged, that in private confession to the arch-priest James, he had wished his father dead; and that his confessor made answer, "God will pardon you this wish; we all wish the same."

The canons of our church do not admit of proofs resulting from private confession, inasmuch as they are held inviolable secrets between God and the penitent: and both the Greek and Latin churches are agreed, that this intimate and secret correspondence between a sinner and the Deity are beyond the cognizance of a temporal court of justice. But here the welfare of a kingdom and king were concerned. The arch-priest, being put to the torture, confirmed all that the prince had revealed; and this trial furnished the unprecedented instance of a confessor accused by his penitent, and that penitent by his own mistress. To this may be added another singular circumstance, namely, that the archbishop of Rezan having been involved in several accusations on account of having spoken too favourably of the young czarowitz
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in one of his sermons, at the time that his father's resentment first broke out against him; that weak prince declared in his answer to one of the interrogations, that he had depended on the assistance of that prelate, at the same time that he was at the head of the ecclesiastical court, which the czar had consulted in relation to this criminal process against his son, as we shall see in the course of this chapter.

There is another remark to be made in this extraordinary trial, which we find so very lamely related in the absurd history of Peter the Great, by the pretended bojar Nesterfuranoy, and that is the following.

Among other answers which the czarowitz Alexis made to the first question put to him by his father, he acknowledges, that while he was at Vienna, finding he could not be admitted to see the emperor, he applied himself to count Schonborn the high chamberlain, who told him, "the emperor would not abandon him, and that as soon as occasion should offer by the death of his father, that he would assist him to recover the throne by force of arms." Upon which, adds the prince, I made him the following answer, "This is what I by no means desire: if the emperor will only grant me his protection for the present, I ask no more." This deposition is plain, natural, and carries with it strong marks of the truth; for it would have been the height of madness to have asked the emperor for an armed force to dethrone his father, and no one would have ventured to have made such an absurd proposal, either to the emperor, prince Eugene, or to the council. This deposition

bears date in the month of February, and four months afterwards, namely, after the first of July, and towards the latter end of the proceedings against the czarowitz, that prince is made to say, in the last answers he delivered in writing,

“ Being unwilling to imitate my father in
 “ any thing, I endeavoured to secure to myself
 “ the succession by any means whatever, *excepting such as were just*. I attempted to get
 “ it by a foreign assistance; and had I succeeded,
 “ ed, and that the emperor had fulfilled *what*
 “ *he had promised me*, to replace me on the
 “ throne of Russia even by force of arms, I
 “ would have left nothing undone to have got
 “ possession of it. For instance, if the emperor
 “ had demanded of me in return for his services,
 “ a body of my own troops to fight for him
 “ against any power whatever, that might be
 “ in arms against him, or a large sum of money
 “ to defray the charges of a war, I should
 “ have readily granted every thing that he asked,
 “ ed, and should have gratified his ministers
 “ and generals with magnificent presents. I
 “ would at my own expence have maintained
 “ the auxiliary troops he might have furnished
 “ to put me in possession of the crown; and, in
 “ a word, I should have thought nothing too
 “ much to have accomplished my ends.”

This answer seems greatly strained, and appears as if the unhappy deponent was exerting his utmost efforts to appear more culpable than he really was; nay, he seems to have spoken absolutely contrary to truth in a capital point. He says the emperor had promised to procure him the crown by force of arms. This is absolutely

solutely false; Schonborn had given him hopes, that, after the death of his father, the emperor might assist him to recover his birth-right; but the emperor himself never made him any promise. And lastly, the matter in question was not if he should take arms against his father, but if he should succeed him after his death?

By this last deposition he declares what he believes he should have done, had he been obliged to dispute his birth-right, which he had not formally renounced till after his journey to Vienna and Naples. Here then we have a second deposition, not of any thing he had already done, and the actual commission of which would have subjected him to the rigorous enquiry of the law, but what he imagined he should have done had occasion offered, and which consequently is no subject of a juridical enquiry. Thus does he twice together accuse himself of private thoughts that he might have entertained in a future time. The known world does not produce an instance of a man tried and condemned for vague and inconsequential notions that came into his head, and which he never communicated to any one: nor is there a court of justice in Europe that will hear a man accuse himself of criminal thoughts, nay, we believe that they are not punished by God himself, unless accompanied by a fixed resolution to put them in practice.

To these natural reflections it may be answered, that the czarowitz had given his father a just right to punish him, by having withheld the names of several of the accomplices of his flight. His pardon was promised him only on condition of making a full and open confession,

which he did not till it was too late. Lastly, after so public an affair, it was not in human nature that Alexis should ever forgive a brother in favour of whom he had been disinherited; therefore it was thought better to punish one guilty person, than to expose a whole nation to danger, and herein the rigour of justice and reasons of state acted in concert.

We must not judge of the manners and laws of one nation by those of others. The czar was possessed of the fatal, but incontestible right of punishing his son with death, for the single crime of having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom against his consent; and he thus explains himself in his declaration addressed to the prelates and others, who composed the high courts of justice. “ Though, according to all
“ laws, civil and divine, and especially those
“ of this empire, which grant an absolute jurisdiction to fathers over their children (even
“ fathers in private life) we have a full and
“ unlimited power to judge our son for his
“ crimes according to our pleasure, without
“ asking the advice of any person whatsoever;
“ yet, as men are more liable to prejudice and
“ partiality in their own affairs, than in those
“ of others, and as the most eminent and expert physicians rely not on their own judgment concerning themselves, but call in the
“ advice and assistance of others; so we, under
“ the fear of God, and an awful dread of offending him, in like manner make known
“ our disease, and apply to you for a cure;
“ being apprehensive of eternal death, if ignorant perhaps of the nature of our distemper, we should attempt to cure ourselves;
“ and

“and the rather, as in a solemn appeal to Almighty God, I have signed, sworn, and confirmed a promise of pardon to my son, in case he should declare to me the truth.

“And though he has violated this promise, by concealing the most important circumstances of his rebellious design against us; yet, that we may not in any thing swerve from our obligations, we pray you to consider this affair with seriousness and attention, and report what punishment he deserves without favour or partiality either to him or me; for should you apprehend that he deserves but a slight punishment, it will not be disagreeable to me. I swear to you by the great God and his judgments, that you have nothing to fear on this head.

“Neither let the reflection of your being to pass sentence on the son of your prince have any influence on you, but administer justice without respect of persons, and destroy not your own souls and mine also, by doing any thing to injure our country, or upbraid our consciences in the great and terrible day of judgment.”

The czar afterwards addressed himself to the clergy*, by another declaration to the same purpose

* His declaration to the clergy concluded in this manner :

“Tho’ this affair does not fall within the verge of the spiritual, but of the civil jurisdiction, and we have this day referred it to the imperial decision of the secular court, but remembering that passage in the word of God, which requires us on such occasions to consult the priests and elders of the church, in order to know the will of Heaven, and being desirous of receiving all possible instruction in a matter of such importance,

purpose, so that every thing was transacted in the most authentic manner, and Peter's behaviour through the whole of this affair was so open and undisguised, as shewed him to be fully satisfied of the justice of his cause.

On the first of July the clergy delivered their opinion in writing. In fact, it was their opinion only, and not a judgment, which the czar required of them. The beginning is deserving of the attention of all Europe.

“ This affair (say the prelates and the rest of the clergy) does in no wise fall within the verge of the ecclesiastical court, nor is the absolute power invested in the sovereign of the Russian empire subject to the cognizance of his people ; but he has an unlimited power of acting herein as to him shall seem best, without any inferior having a right to intermeddle therein.”

After their preamble they proceed to cite several texts of scripture, particularly Leviticus, wherein it is said, *curst be he that curseth his father or mother* ; and the gospel of St. Matthew, which repeats this severe denunciation. And

‘ we desire of you the archbishops, and the whole ecclesiastical
‘ state, as teachers of the word, of God not to pronounce judgment in this case, but to examine and give us your opinion,
‘ concerning it, according to the sacred oracles, from whom we
‘ may be best informed what punishment my son deserves, and
‘ that you will give us in writing under your hands, that being properly instructed herein, we may lay no burthen on our
‘ conscience. We therefore repose our confidence in you, that,
‘ as guardians of the divine laws, as faithful pastors of the
‘ Christian flock, and as well affected towards your country,
‘ you will act suitable to your dignity, conjuring you by that
‘ dignity, and the holiness of your function, to proceed without
‘ fear and dissimulation.

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they concluded, after several other quotations †, with these remarkable words.

“ If his majesty is inclinable to punish the offender according to his deeds and the measure of his crimes, he has before him the examples in the Old Testament; if, on the other hand, he is inclined to shew mercy, he has a pattern in our Lord Jesus Christ, who receives the prodigal son, when returning with a contrite heart, who set free the woman taken in adultery, whom the law sentenced to be stoned to death,

† Besides the particular passages in holy writ cited on this occasion, which were, Levit. xx. 1, 9. Deut. xxxi. Matt. xxi. 1. Mark vii. 9. Rom. i. 28. Ephes. vi. 1. those from the constitutions of the empire were as follows: ‘ If any person by any ill design, forms any attempt against the health of the czar, or does any thing to his prejudice, and is found inclined to execute his pernicious designs; let him be put to death, after he is convicted thereof.’ Stat. 1. ‘ In like manner, if any one, during the reign of his czarian majesty, through a desire to reign in the empire of Russia, and put the czar to death, shall begin to raise troops with this pernicious view; or if any one shall form an alliance with the enemies of his czarian majesty, or hold a correspondence with them, or assist them to arrive at the government, or raise any other disorder; if any one declares it, and the truth be found out upon such declaration, let the traitor suffer death upon conviction of the treason.’ Stat. 2. From the military laws the following citations were made; chap. 3. artic. 19. ‘ If any subject raises men, and takes up arms against his czarian majesty; or if any person forms a design of taking his majesty prisoner, or killing him; or if he offers any violence to him; he and all his abettors and adherents shall be quartered, as guilty of treason, and their goods confiscated.’ To which article the following explanation was added; ‘ They also shall suffer the same punishment, who, tho’ they have not been able to execute their crime, shall be convicted of inclination and desire to commit it; and likewise, those who shall not have discovered it when it came to their knowledge,’ chap. 26. art. 37. ‘ He who forms a design of committing any treason, or any other matter of the like nature, shall be punished with the same capital punishments as if he had actually executed his design.’

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and who prefers mercy to burnt-offerings. He has likewise the example of David, who spared his son Absalom, who had rebelled against and persecuted him, saying to his captains when going forth to the fight, *spare my son Absalom*. The father was here inclinable to mercy, but divine justice suffered not the offender to go unpunished."

"The heart of the czar is in the hands of God; let him take that side to which it shall please the Almighty to direct him."

This opinion was signed by eight archbishops and bishops, four arch-priests, and two professors of divinity; and, as we have already observed, the metropolitan archbishop of Rezan, the same with whom the prince had held a correspondence, was the first who signed.

As soon as the clergy had signed this opinion they presented it to the czar. It is easy to perceive that this body was desirous of inclining his mind to clemency; and nothing can be more beautiful than the contrast between the mercy of Jesus Christ, and the rigour of the Jewish law, placed before the eyes of a father, who was the prosecutor of his own son.

The same day the czarowitz was again examined for the last time, and signed his final confession in writing, wherein he acknowledges himself "to have been a bigot in his youthful
" days, to have frequented the company of
" priests and monks, to have drank with them,
" and to have imbibed from their conversations
" the first impressions of dislike to the duties of
" his station, and even to the person of his
" father."

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If he made this confession of his own accord, it shews that he must have been ignorant of the mild advice the body of clergy whom he thus accuses, had lately given his father; and it is a still stronger proof how great a change the czar had wrought in the manners of the clergy of his time, who, from a state of the most deplorable ignorance, were in so short a time become capable of drawing up a writing, which for its wisdom and eloquence might have been owned without a blush by the most illustrious fathers of the church.

It is in this last confession that the czarowitz made that declaration on which we have already commented, viz. that he endeavoured to secure to himself the succession *by any means whatever, except such as were just.*

One would imagine, by this last confession, that the prince was apprehensive he had not rendered himself sufficiently criminal in the eyes of his judges, by his former self-accusations, and that, by giving himself the character of a dissembler and a bad man, and supposing how he might have acted had he been the master, he was carefully studying how to justify the fatal sentence which was about to be pronounced against him, and which was done on the 5th of July. This sentence will be found, at length, at the end of this volume; therefore we shall only observe in this place, that it begins like the opinion of the clergy, by declaring, that “it belongs not to subjects to take cognizance of such an affair, which depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose authority is derived from God alone;” and then, after having set forth the several articles of the charge

charge brought against the prince, the judges express themselves thus : " What shall we think
" of a rebellious design, almost unparalleled in
" history, joined to that of a horrid parricide
" against him, who was his father in a double
" capacity ?"

Probably these words have been wrong translated, from the trial printed by order of the czar; for certainly there have been instances in history of much greater rebellions ; and no part of the proceedings against the czarowitz discover any design in him of killing his father. Perhaps, by the word *parricide*, is understood the deposition made by the prince, that one day he declared at confession, that he had wished for the death of his father. But, how can a private declaration of a secret thought, under the seal of confession, be a double parricide ?

Be this as it may, the czarowitz was unanimously condemned to die, but no mention was made in the sentence of the manner in which he was to suffer. Of one hundred and forty-four judges, there was not one who thought of a lesser punishment than death. Whereas an English tract, which made a great noise at that time, observes, that if such a cause had been brought before an English parliament, there would not have been one judge out of one hundred and forty-four, that would have inflicted even a penalty.

There cannot be a stronger proof of the difference of times and places. The consul Manlius would have been condemned by the laws of England to lose his own life, for having put his son to death ; whereas he was admired and extolled for that action by the rigid Romans : but the

the same laws would not punish a prince of Wales for leaving the kingdom, who, as a peer of the realm, has a right to go and come when he pleases *. A criminal design, not perpetrated, is not punishable by the laws in England † or France, but it is in Russia. A continued formal and repeated disobedience of commands would, amongst us, be considered only an error in conduct, which ought to be suppressed ; but, in Russia, it was judged a capital crime in the heir of a great empire, whose ruin might have been the consequence of that disobedience. Lastly, the czarowitz was culpable towards the whole nation, by his design of throwing it back into that state of darkness and ignorance from which his father had so lately delivered it.

Such was the acknowledged power of the czar, that he might put his son to death for disobedience to him, without consulting any one ; nevertheless, he submitted the affair to the judgment of the representatives of the nation, so that it was in fact the nation itself who passed sentence on the prince, and Peter was so well satisfied with the equity of his own conduct, that he voluntarily submitted it to the judgment of every other nation, by causing the whole proceedings to be printed and translated into several languages.

The law of history would not permit us to disguise or palliate ought in the relation of this

* Mr. de Voltaire is mistaken in this point ; for, by our laws, no peer of the realm can absent himself from the service of the parliament during its session. without the liberty of the king or the house.

† This is another mistake, for it is death by our laws to compass or imagine the death of the sovereign.

tragic event. All Europe was divided in its sentiments, whether most to pity a young prince, prosecuted by his own father, and condemned to lose his life, by those who were one day to have been his subjects ; or the father, who thought himself under a necessity to sacrifice his own son to the welfare of his nation.

It was asserted in several books, published on this subject, that the czar sent to Spain for a copy of the proceedings against Don Carlos, who had been condemned to death by his father king Philip II. But this is false, inasmuch as Don Carlos was never brought to his trial : the conduct of Peter I. was totally different from that of Philip. The Spanish monarch never made known to the world the reasons for which he had confined his son, nor in what manner that prince died. He wrote letters on this occasion to the pope and the empress, which were absolutely contradictory to each other. William prince of Orange accused Philip publicly of having sacrificed his son and his wife to his jealousy, and to have behaved rather like a jealous and cruel husband, and an unnatural and murderous father, than a severe and upright judge. Philip suffered this accusation against him to pass unanswered : Peter, on the contrary, did nothing but in the eye of the world ; he openly declared, that he preferred his people to his own son, submitted his cause to the judgment of the principal persons of his kingdom, and made the whole world the judge of their proceedings and his own.

There was another extraordinary circumstance attending this unhappy affair, which was, that the empress Catherine, who was hated by the

the czarowitz, and whom he had publicly threatened with the worst of treatment, whenever he should mount the throne, was not in any way necessary to his misfortunes; and was neither accused, nor even suspected by any foreign minister residing at the court of Russia, of having taken the least step against a son-in-law, from whom she had so much to fear. It is true, indeed, that no one pretends to say she interceded with the czar for his pardon: but all the accounts of these times, and especially those of the count de Bassévitz, agree, that she was greatly affected with his misfortunes.

I have now before me the memoirs of a public minister, in which I find the following words: "I was present when the czar told the duke of Holstein, that the Czarina Catherine had begged of him to prevent the sentence passed upon the czarowitz, being publicly read to that prince. Content yourself, said she, with obliging him to turn monk; for this public and formal condemnation of your son will reflect an odium on your grandson."

The czar, however, would not hearken to the intercession of his spouse; he thought there was a necessity to have the sentence publicly read to the prince himself, in order that he might have no pretence left to dispute this solemn act, in which he himself acquiesced, and that being dead in law, he could never after claim a right to the crown.

Nevertheless, if, after the death of Peter, a formidable party had arose in favour of Alexis, would his being dead in law have prevented him from ascending the throne?

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The prince then had his sentence read to him; and the memoirs I have just mentioned observe, that he fell into a fit on hearing these words: "The laws divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death, without mercy, those whose attempts against their father and their sovereign have been fully proved." These fits, it is said, turned to an apoplexy, and it was with great difficulty he was recovered at that time. Afterwards when he came a little to himself, and in the dreadful interval, between life and death, he sent for his father to come to him: the czar accordingly went, and both father and son burst into a flood of tears. The unhappy culprit asked his offended parent's forgiveness, which he gave him publicly: then being in the agonies of death, extreme unction was administered to him in the most solemn manner, and soon after he expired in the presence of the whole court, the day after the fatal sentence had been pronounced upon him. His body was immediately carried to the cathedral, where it lay in state, exposed to public view for four days, after which it was interred in the church of the citadel, by the side of his late princess; the czar and czarina assisting at the funeral.

And here I think myself indispensably obliged to imitate, in some measure, the conduct of the czar, that is to say, to submit to the judgment of the public, the several facts which I have related with the most scrupulous exactness, and not only the facts themselves, but likewise the various reports which were propagated in relation to them, by authors of the first credit. Lamberti, the most impartial of any writer on this subject,

subject, and at the same time the most exact, and who has confined himself to the simple narrative of the original and authentic pieces, relating to the affairs of Europe, seems in this matter to have departed from that impartiality and discernment for which he is so remarkable: for he thus expresses himself.

“ The czarina, ever anxious for the fortune
 “ of her own son, did not suffer the czar to rest
 “ till she had obliged him to commence the
 “ proceedings against the czarowitz, and to
 “ prosecute that unhappy prince to death ; and
 “ what is still more extraordinary, the czar, af-
 “ ter having given him the knout, (which is a
 “ kind of torture) with his own hand, was him-
 “ self his executioner, by cutting off his head,
 “ which was afterwards so artfully joined to the
 “ body, that the separation could not be per-
 “ ceived, when it was exposed to public view.
 “ Some little time afterwards, the czarina’s son
 “ died, to the inexpressible regret of her and the
 “ czar. This latter, who had beheaded his
 “ own son, coming now to reflect, that he had no
 “ successor, grew extremely ill-tempered. Much
 “ about that time also, he was informed, that
 “ his spouse, the czarina, was engaged in a se-
 “ cret and criminal correspondence with prince
 “ Menzikoff. This, joined to the reflection,
 “ that she had been the cause of his putting to
 “ death with his own hand his eldest son, made
 “ him conceive a design to strip her of the im-
 “ perial honours, and shut her up in a convent,
 “ in the same manner as he had done his first
 “ wife, who is still living there. It was a cus-
 “ tom with the czar to keep a kind of diary of
 “ his private thoughts in his pocket-book, and
 “ he

“ he had accordingly entered therein, a memorandum of this his intention. The czarina having found means to gain over to her interest all the pages of the czar’s bed-chamber, one of them finding his pocket-book, which he had carelessly left on the table, brought it to Catherine, who, upon reading this memorandum, immediately sent for prince Menzikoff, and communicated it to him, and, in a day or two afterwards, the czar was seized with a violent distemper, of which he died. This distemper was attributed to poison, on account of its being so sudden and violent, that it could not be supposed to proceed from a natural cause, and that the horrible act of poisoning was but too frequently used in Russia.”

These accusations, thus handed down by Lamberti, were soon spread throughout Europe; and, as there still exist a great number of pieces, both in print and manuscript, which may give a sanction to the belief of this fact to the latest posterity, I think it is my duty to mention, in this place, what is come to my knowledge from unexceptionable authority.

In the first place, then, I take it upon me to declare, that the person who furnished Lamberti with this strange anecdote, was in fact a native of Russia, but of a foreign extraction, and who himself did not reside in that country at the time this event happened, having left it several years before. I was formerly acquainted with him; he had been in company with Lamberti, at the little town of Nyon*, whither

* Or Nions, the capital of Montauban, in Dauphiné, in France, situate on the river Aigues, over which is a bridge, said to be a Roman work,

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that writer had retired, and where I myself have often been. This very man declared to me, that he had never told this story to Lamberti, but in the light of a report, which had been handed about at that time.

This example may suffice to shew, how easy it was in former times, before the art of printing was found out, for one man to destroy the reputation of another, in the minds of whole nations, by reason that manuscript histories were in a few hands only, and not exposed to general examination and censure, or of the observations of contemporaries, as they now are. A single line in Tacitus or Sallust, nay, even in the authors of the most fabulous legends, was enough to render a great prince odious to the half of mankind, and to perpetuate his name with infamy to successive generations.

How was it possible, that the czar could have beheaded his son with his own hand, when extreme unction was administered to the latter in the presence of the whole court? Was he dead when the sacred oil was poured upon his head? When or how could this dissevered head have been rejoined to its trunk? It is notorious, that the prince was not left alone a single moment from the first reading of his sentence to him, to the instant of his death.

Besides, this story of the czar's having had recourse to the sword, acquits him at least of having made use of poison. I will allow, that it is somewhat uncommon, that a young man in the vigour of his days should die of a sudden fright, occasioned by hearing the sentence of his own death read to him, and especially when it was a sentence that he expected ;
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but after all, physicians will tell us that this is not a thing impossible.

If the czar dispatched his son by poison, as so many authors would persuade us, he by that means deprived himself of every advantage he might expect from this fatal process, in convincing all Europe that he had a right to punish every delinquent. He rendered all the reasons for pronouncing the condemnation of the czarowitz suspected; and, in fact, accused himself. If he was desirous of the death of his son, he was in possession of full power to have caused the sentence to be put in execution: would a man of any prudence then, would a sovereign, on whom the eyes of all his neighbours were fixed, have taken the base and dastardly method of poisoning the person over whose devoted head he himself already held the sword of justice? Lastly, would we have suffered his memory to have been transmitted to posterity as an assassin and a poisoner, when he could so easily have assumed the character of an upright, though severe judge?

It appears then, from all that has been delivered on this subject in the preceding pages, that Peter was more the king than the parent; and that he sacrificed his own son to the sentiments of the father and law-giver of his country, and to the interest of his people, who, without this wholesome severity, were on the verge of relapsing again into that state from which he had taken them. It is evident that he did not sacrifice this son to the ambition of a step-mother, or to the son he had by her, since he had often threatened the czarowitz to disinherit him, before Catharine brought him
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that other son, whose infirm infancy gave signs of a speedy death, which actually happened in a very short time afterwards. Had Peter taken this important step merely to please his wife, he must have been a fool, a madman, or a coward ; neither of which, most certainly, could be laid to his charge. But he foresaw what would be the fate of his establishments, and of his new-born nation, if he had such a successor as would not adopt his views. The event has verified this foresight : the Russian empire is become famous and respectable throughout Europe, from which it was before entirely separated ; whereas, had the czarowitz succeeded to the throne, every thing would have been destroyed. In fine, when this catastrophe comes to be seriously considered, the compassionate heart shudders, and the rigid applauds.

This great and terrible event is still fresh in the memories of mankind ; and it is frequently spoken of as a matter of so much surprize, that it is absolutely necessary to examine what contemporary writers have said of it. One of these hireling scribblers, who has taken on him the title of historian, speaks thus of it in a work which he has dedicated to count Brühl, prime minister to his Polish majesty, whose name indeed may seem to give some weight to what he advances. “ Russia was convinced that the czarowitz owed his death to poison, which “ had been given him by his mother-in-law.” But this accusation is overturned by the declaration which the czar made to the duke of Holstein, that the empress Catherine had advised him to confine his son in a monastery.

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With regard to the poison which the empress is said to have given afterwards to her husband, that story is sufficiently destroyed by the simple relation of the affair of the page and pocket-book. What man would think of making such a memorandum as this, "I must remember to confine my wife in a convent?" Is this a circumstance of so trivial a nature, that it must be set down lest it should be forgotten? If Catharine had poisoned her son-in-law and her husband, she would have committed crimes; whereas so far from being suspected of cruelty, she had a remarkable character for lenity and sweetness of temper.

It may now be proper to shew what was the first cause of the behaviour of the czarowitz, of his flight, and of his death, and that of his accomplices, who fell by the hands of the executioner. It was owing then to mistaken notions in religion, and to a superstitious fondness for priests and monks. That this was the real source from whence all his misfortunes were derived, is sufficiently apparent from his own confession, which we have already set before the reader, and in particular, by that expression of the czar in his letter to his unhappy son, "A corrupt priesthood will be able to turn you at pleasure."

The following is almost word for word the manner in which a certain ambassador to the court of Russia explains these words. Several ecclesiastics, says he, fond of the ancient barbarous customs, and regretting the authority they had lost by the nation having become more civilized, wished earnestly to see prince Alexis on the throne, from whose known disposition they

they expected a return of those days of ignorance and superstition which were so dear to them. In the number of these was Dozitheus, bishop of Rostow. This prelate feigned a revelation from St. Demetrius, and that the saint had appeared to him, and had assured him as from God himself, that the czar would not live above three months ; that the empress Eudocia, who was then confined in the convent of Susdal (and had taken the veil under the name of sister Helena) and the princess Mary, the czar's sister, should ascend the throne and reign jointly with prince Alexis. Eudocia and the princess Mary were weak enough to credit this imposture, and were even so persuaded of the truth of the prediction, that the former quitted her habit and the convent, and throwing aside the name of sister Helena, re-assumed the imperial title and the ancient dress of the czarinas, and caused the name of her rival Catherine to be struck out of the form of prayer. And when the lady abbess of the convent opposed these proceedings, Eudocia answered her haughtily " that as Peter had punished the Strelitzes who " had insulted his mother, in like manner would " prince Alexis punish those who had offered an " indignity to his." She caused the abbess to be confined to her apartment. An officer named Stephen Glebo was introduced into the convent ; this man Eudocia made use of as the instrument of her designs, having previously won him over to her interest by heaping favours on him. Glebo caused Dozitheus's prediction to be spread over the little town of Susdal and the neighbourhood thereof. But the three months being near expired, Eudocia reproach-

ed the bishop with the czar's being still alive. "My father's sins, answered Dozitheus, have been the cause of this; he is still in purgatory, and has acquainted me therewith." Upon this Eudocia caused a thousand masses for the dead to be said, Dozitheus assuring her that this would not fail of having the desired effect: but in about a month afterwards, he came to her and told, that his father's head was already out of purgatory; in a month afterwards he was freed as far as his waist, so that then he only stuck in purgatory by his feet; but as soon as they should be set free, which was the most difficult part of the business, the czar would infallibly die.

The princess Mary, persuaded by Dozitheus, gave herself up to him, on condition that his father should be immediately released from purgatory, and the prediction accomplished, and Glebo continued his usual correspondence with the old czarina.

It was chiefly on the faith of these predictions that the czarowitz quitted the kingdom, and retired into a foreign country, to wait for the death of his father. However, the whole scheme was soon discovered; Dozitheus and Glebo were seized: the letters of the princess Mary to Dozitheus, and those of sister Helena to Glebo, were read in the open senate. In consequence of which the princess Mary was shut up in the fortress of Schusselbourg, and the old czarina removed to another convent, where she was kept a close prisoner. Dozitheus and Glebo, together with the other accomplices of these idle and superstitious intrigues, were put to the torture, as were likewise the confidents of the
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czarowitz's flight. His confessor, his preceptor, and the steward of his household, all died by the hands of the executioner.

Such then was the dear and fatal price at which Peter the Great purchased the happiness of his people, and such were the numberless obstacles he had to surmount in the midst of a long and dangerous war without doors, and an unnatural rebellion at home. He saw one half of his family plotting against him, the majority of the priesthood obstinately bent to frustrate his designs, and almost the whole nation for a long time opposing its own felicity, of which as yet it was not become sensible. He had prejudices to overcome, and discontents to soothe. In a word, there wanted a new generation formed by his care, who would at length entertain the proper ideas of happiness and glory, which their fathers were not able to comprehend or support.

C H A P. XI.

Works and establishments in 1718, and the following Years.

THroughout the whole of the foregoing dreadful catastrophe, it appeared clearly, that Peter had acted only as the father of his country, and that he considered his people as his family. The punishments he had been obliged to inflict on such of them who had endeavoured to obstruct or impede the happiness of the rest, were necessary; though melancholy sacrifices, made to the general good.

1718.] This year, which was the epoch of the disinheriting and death of his eldest son, was also that of the greatest advantage he procured to his subjects, by establishing a general police hitherto unknown, by the introduction or improvement of manufactures and works of every kind, by opening new branches of trade, which now began to flourish, and by the construction of canals, which joined rivers, seas, and people, that nature had separated from each other. We have here none of those striking events which charm common readers; none of those court-intrigues which are the food of scandal and malice, nor of those great revolutions which amaze the generality of mankind; but we behold the real springs of public happiness, which the philosophic eye delights to contemplate.

He now appointed a lieutenant-general of police over the whole empire, who was to hold
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his court at Petersburg, and from thence preserve order from one end of the empire to the other. Extravagance in dress, and the still more dangerous extravagance of gaming, were prohibited under severe penalties; schools for teaching arithmetic, which had been first set on foot in 1716, were now established in many towns in Russia. The hospitals which had been begun, were now finished, endowed, and filled with proper objects.

To these we may add the several useful establishments which had been projected some time before, and which were completed a few years afterwards. The great towns were now cleared of those innumerable swarms of beggars, who will not follow any other occupation but that of importuning those who are more industrious than themselves, and who lead a wretched and shameful life at the expence of others: an abuse too much overlooked in other nations.

The rich were obliged to build regular and handsome houses in Petersburg, agreeable to their circumstances, and, by a master-stroke of police, the several materials were brought carriage-free to the city, by the barks and waggon which returned empty from the neighbouring provinces.

Weights and measures were likewise fixed upon an uniform plan, in the same manner as the laws. This uniformity, so much, but in vain desired, in states that have for many ages been civilized, was established in Russia without the least difficulty or murmuring; and yet we fancy that this salutary regulation is impracticable amongst us.

The prices of the necessities of life were also fixed. The city of Petersburg was well lighted with lamps during the night; a convenience which was first introduced in Paris by Lewis XIV. and to which Rome is still a stranger. Pumps were erected for supplying water in cases of fire, the streets were well paved, and rails set up for the security of foot passengers; in a word, every thing was provided that could minister to safety, decency, and good order, and to the quicker dispatch and convenience of the inland trade of the country. Several privileges were granted to foreigners, and proper laws enacted to prevent the abuse of those privileges. In consequence of these useful and salutary regulations, Petersburg and Moscow put on a new face.

The iron and steel manufactories received additional improvements, especially those which the czar had founded at about ten miles distance from Petersburg, of which he himself was the first superintendent, and wherein no less than a thousand workmen were employed immediately under his eye. He went in person to give directions to those who farmed the corn-mills, powder-mills, and mills for sawing timber, and to the managers of the manufactories for cordage and sail-cloth, to the brick-makers, slaters, and the cloth-weavers. Numbers of workmen in every branch came from France to settle under him; these were the fruits he reaped from his travels.

He established a board of trade, which was composed of one half natives, and the other half foreigners, in order that justice might be equally distributed to all artists and workmen.

A French-

A Frenchman settled a manufactory for making fine looking-glasses at Petersburg, with the assistance of prince Menzikoff. Another set up a loom for working curious tapestry, after the manner of the Gobelins; and this manufactory still meets with great encouragement. A third succeeded in the making of gold and silver thread, and the czar ordered that no more than four thousand marks of gold and silver should be expended in these works in the space of a year; by this means to prevent the too great consumption of bullion in the kingdom.

He gave 30,000 rubles, that is, about 150,000 French livres*, together with all the materials and instruments necessary for making the several kinds of woollen stuffs. By this useful bounty he was enabled to clothe all his troops with the cloth made in his own country; whereas, before that time, it was purchased from Berlin and other foreign kingdoms.

They made as fine linen cloth in Moscow as in Holland; and at his death there was in that capital and at Jaroslaw no less than fourteen linen and hempen manufactures.

It could certainly never be imagined, at the time that silk sold in Europe for its weight in gold, that one day there would arise on the banks of the lake Ladoga, in the midst of a frozen region, and among unfrequented marshes, a magnificent and opulent city, where the silks of Persia should be manufactured in as great perfection as at Ispahan. Peter, however, undertook this great phenomenon in commerce, and succeeded in the attempt. The working of iron mines was carried to their highest degree

* At 24 to the pound sterling.

of perfection ; several other mines of gold and silver were discovered, and the council of mines was appointed to examine and determine, whether the working of these would bring in a profit adequate to the expence.

But, to make so many different arts and manufactories flourish, and to establish so many various undertakings, it was not alone sufficient to grant patents, or to appoint inspectors : it was necessary that our great founder should behold all these pass under his own eye in their beginnings, and work at them with his own hands, in the same manner as we have already seen him working at the construction, the rigging, and the sailing of a ship. When canals were to be dug in marshy and almost impassable grounds, he was frequently seen at the head of the workmen, digging the earth, and carrying it away himself.

In this same year (1718) he formed the plan of the canal and sluices of Ladoga : this was intended to make a communication between the Neva and another navigable river, in order for the more easy conveyance of merchandize to Petersburg, without taking the great circuit of the lake Ladoga, which, on account of the storms that prevailed on the coast, was frequently impassable for barks or small vessels. Peter levelled the ground himself, and they still preserve the tools which he used in digging up and carrying off the earth. The whole court followed the example of their sovereign, and persisted in a work, which, at the same time, they looked upon as impracticable ; and it was finished after his death ; for not one of his
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projects which had been found possible to be effected, was abandoned.

The great canal of Cronstadt, which is easily drained of its waters, and wherein they careen and clean the men of war, was also begun at the same time that he was engaged in the proceedings against his son.

In this year also he built the new city of Ladoga. A short time afterwards, he made the canal which joins the Caspian sea to the gulph of Finland and to the ocean. The boats, after sailing up the Wolga, came first to the communication of two rivers, which he joined for that purpose; from thence by another canal, they enter into the lake of Ilmen, and then fall into the canal of Ladoga, from whence goods and merchandizes may be conveyed by sea to all parts of the world.

In the midst of these labours, which all passed under his inspection, he carried his views from Kamshatka to the most eastern limits of his empire, and caused two forts to be built in these regions, which were so long unknown to the rest of the world. In the mean time, a body of engineers, who were draughted from the marine academy established in 1715, were sent to make the tour of the empire, in order to form exact charts thereof, and lay before mankind the immense extent of country which he had civilised and enriched.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Trade of R U S S I A.

THE Russian trade without doors was in a manner annihilated before the reign of Peter. He restored it anew, after his accession to the throne. It is notorious, that the current of trade has undergone several changes in the world. The south part of Russia was, before the time of Tamerlane, the staple of Greece and even of the Indies; and the Genoese were the principal factors. The Tanais and the Boristhenes were loaded with the productions of Asia; but when Tamerlane, towards the end of the fourteenth century, had conquered the Taurican Chersonesus, afterwards called Crimea or Crim Tartary, and when the Turks became masters of Asoph, this great branch of trade was totally destroyed. Peter formed the design of reviving it, by getting possession of Asoph; but the unfortunate campaign of Pruth wrested this city out of his hands, and with it all his views on the Black sea; nevertheless, he had it still in his power to open as extensive a road to commerce thro' the Caspian sea. The English who, in the end of the 15th, and beginning of the 16th century, had opened a trade to Archangel, had endeavoured to do the same likewise by the Caspian sea, but failed in all their attempts for this purpose.

It has been already observed, that the father of Peter the Great caused a ship to be built in Holland, to trade from Astracan to the coast of Persia.

Persia. This vessel was burnt by the rebel Stenkorazin, which put an immediate stop to any views of trading on a fair footing with the Persians. The Armenians, who are the factors of that part of Asia, were received by Peter the Great into Astracan; every thing was obliged to pass thro' their hands, and they reaped all the advantage of that trade: as is the case with the Indian traders, and the Banians; and with the Turks, as well as several nations in Christendom, and the Jews; for those who have only one way of living, are generally very expert in that art on which they depend for a support; and others pay a voluntary tribute to that knowledge in which they know themselves deficient.

Peter had already found a remedy for this inconvenience, in the treaty which he made with the sophi of Persia, by which all the silk, which was not used for the manufactories in that kingdom, were to be delivered to the Armenians of Astracan, and by them to be transported into Russia.

The troubles which arose in Persia soon overturned this arrangement; and, in the course of this history, we shall see how the Sha, or emperor of Persia, Hussein, when persecuted by the rebels, implored the assistance of Peter; and how that monarch, after having supported a difficult war against the Turks and the Swedes, entered Persia, and subjected three of its provinces. But to return to the article of trade.

Of the Trade with CHINA.

The undertaking of establishing a trade with China seemed to promise the greatest advantages.

tages. Two vast empires, bordering on each other, and each reciprocally possessing what the other stood in need of, seemed to be both under the happy necessity of opening an useful correspondence, especially after the treaty of peace, so solemnly ratified between these two empires in the year 1689, according to our way of reckoning.

The first foundation of this trade had been laid in the year 1653. There was at that time two companies of Siberian and Bukarian families settled in Siberia. Their caravans travelled thro' the Calmuck plains; after that they crossed the deserts to Chinese Tartary, and made a considerable profit by their trade; but the troubles which happened in the country of the Kalmucks, and the disputes between the Russians and Chinese, in regard to the frontiers, put a stop to this commerce.

After the peace of 1689, it was natural for the two nations to fix on some neutral place, whither all the goods should be carried. The Siberians, like all other nations, stood more in need of the Chinese, than these latter did of them; accordingly permission was asked of the emperor of China, to send caravans to Peking, which was readily granted. This happened in the beginning of the present century.

It is worthy of observation, that the emperor Camhi had granted permission for a Russian church in the suburbs of Peking; which church was to be served by Siberian priests, the whole at the emperor's own expence, who was so indulgent to cause this church to be built for the accommodation of several families of eastern Siberia; some of whom had been prisoners before the
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the peace of 1680, and the others were adventurers from their own country, who would not return back again after the peace of Niptchou. The agreeable climate of Pekin, the obliging manners of the Chinese, and the ease with which they found a handsome living, determined them to spend the rest of their days in China. The small Greek church could not become dangerous to the peace of the empire, as those of the Jesuits have been to that of other nations; and moreover, the emperor Camhi was a favourer of liberty of conscience. Toleration has, in all times, been the established custom in Asia, as it was in former times all over the world, till the reign of the Roman emperor Theodosius I. The Russian families thus established in China, having intermarried with the natives, have since quitted the Christian religion, but their church still subsists.

It was stipulated, that this church should be for the use of those who came with the Siberian caravans, to bring furs and other commodities wanted at Pekin. The voyage out and home, and the stay in the country, generally took up three years. Prince Gagarin, governor of Siberia, was twenty years at the head of this trade. The caravans were sometimes very numerous; and it was difficult to keep the common people, who made the greatest number, within proper bounds.

They passed thro' the territories of a Laman priest, who is a kind of Tartarian sovereign †, resides on the sea-coast of Orkon, and has the title of Koutoukas: he is the vicar of the grand

† See the beginning of the first volume of the General History.

Lama, but has rendered himself independent, by making some change in the religion of the country, where the Indian tenet of metempsychosis is the prevailing opinion. We cannot find a more apt comparison for this priest, than in the bishops of Lubeck and Osnabrug, who have shaken off the dominion of the church of Rome. The caravans, in their march, sometimes committed depredations on the territories of this Tartarian prelate, as they did also in those of the Chinese. This irregular conduct proved an impediment to the trade of those parts, for the Chinese threatened to shut the entrance into their empire against the Russians, unless a stop was put to these disorders. The trade with China was, at that time, very advantageous to the Russians, who brought from thence gold, silver, and precious stones, in return for their merchandise. The largest ruby in the world was brought out of China to prince Gagarin, who sent it to prince Menzikoff; and it is now one of the ornaments of the imperial crown.

The exactions put in practice by prince Gagarin were of great prejudice to that trade, which had brought him so much riches; and, at length, they ended in his own destruction; for he was accused before the court of justice, established by the czar, and sentenced to lose his head a year after the condemnation of the czarowitz, and the execution of all those who had been his accomplices.

About the same time the emperor Camhi perceiving his health to decay, and knowing by experience, that the European mathematicians were much more learned in their art than those of his own nation, thought that the European
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physicians must also have more knowledge than those of Pekin, and therefore sent a message to the czar, by some ambassadors who were returning from China to Petersburg, requesting him to send him one of his physicians. There happened at that time to be an English surgeon at Petersburg, who offered to undertake the journey in that character; and accordingly set out in company with a new ambassador, and one Laurence Lange, who has left a description of that journey. This embassy was received, and all the expences of it defrayed with great pomp by Camhi. The surgeon, at his arrival, found the emperor in perfect health, and gained the reputation of a most skilful physician. The caravans who followed this embassy made prodigious profits; but fresh excesses having been committed by this very caravan, the Chinese were so offended thereat, that they sent back Lange, who was at that time resident from the czar at the Chinese court, and with him all the Russian merchants established there.

The emperor Camhi dying, his son Yontchin, who had as great share of wisdom, and more firmness than his father, and who drove the Jesuits out of his empire, as the czar had done from Russia in 1718, concluded a treaty with Peter, by which the Russian caravans were no more to trade on the frontiers of the two empires. There are only certain factors, dispatched in the name of the emperor or empress of Russia, and these have liberty to enter Pekin, where they are lodged in a vast house, which the emperor of China formerly assigned for the reception of the envoys from Corea: but it is a considerable time since either caravans or factors have

have been sent from Russia thither ; so that the trade is now in a declining way, but may possibly soon be revived.

Of the trade of PETERSBURG, and the other ports of the RUSSIAN empire.

There were at this time above 200 foreign vessels traded to the new capital, in the space of a year. This trade has continued increasing, and has frequently brought in five millions (French money) to the crown. This was greatly more than the interest of the money which this establishment had cost. This trade, however, greatly diminished that of Archangel, and was precisely what the founder desired ; for the port of Archangel is too dangerous, and at too great distance from other ports : besides that, a trade which is carried on immediately under the eye of an assiduous sovereign, is always the most advantageous. That of Livonia continued still on the same footing. The trade of Russia in general has proved very successful ; its ports have received from 1000 to 1200 vessels in a year, and Peter discovered the happy expedient of joining utility to glory.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the L A W S.

IT is well known, that good laws are scarce, and that the due execution of them is still more so. The greater the extent of any state, and the variety of people of which it is composed, the more difficult it is to unite them by the same body of laws. The father of czar Peter formed a digest or code under the title of *Oulogenia*, which was actually printed, but it by no means answered the end intended.

Peter, in the course of his travels, had collected materials for repairing this great structure, which was falling to decay in many of its parts. He gathered many useful hints from the governments of Denmark, Sweden, England, Germany, and France, selecting from each of these different nations what he thought most suitable to his own.

There was a court of boyards, or great men, who determined all matters *en dernier ressort*. Rank and birth alone gave a seat in this assembly; but the czar thought that knowledge was likewise requisite, and therefore this court was dissolved.

He then instituted a procurator-general, assisted by four assessors, in each of the governments of the empire. These were to overlook the conduct of the judges, whose decrees were subject to an appeal to the senate which he established. Each of those judges was furnished

with a copy of the *Oulogenia*, with additions and necessary alterations, until a complete body of laws could be formed.

It was forbid to these judges to receive any fees, which, however moderate, are always an abusive tax on the fortunes and properties of those concerned in suits of law. The czar also took care that the expences of the court were moderate, and the decisions speedy. The judges and their clerks had salaries appointed them out of the public treasury, and were not suffered to purchase their offices.

It was in the year 1718, at the very time that he was engaged in the process against his son, that he made the chief part of these regulations. The greatest part of the laws he enacted were borrowed from those of the Swedes, and he made no difficulty to admit to places in his courts of judicature such Swedish prisoners who were well versed in the laws of their own country, and who having learnt the Russian language, were willing to continue in his dominions.

The governor of each province and his assessors had the cognizance of private causes within such government; from them there was an appeal to the senate; and if any one, after having been condemned by the senate, appealed to the czar himself, and such appeal was found unjust, he was punished with death: but to mitigate the rigour of this law, the czar created a master of the requests, who received the petitions of those who had affairs depending in the senate, or in the inferior courts, concerning which the laws then in force were not sufficiently explanatory.

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At length, in 1722, he completed his new code, prohibiting all the judges, under pain of death, to depart therefrom in their decrees, or to set up their own private opinions in place of the general statutes. This dreadful ordonance was publicly fixed up, and still remains in all the courts of judicature of the empire.

He erected every thing anew ; there was not, even to the common affairs of society, ought but what was his work. He regulated the degrees between man and man, according to their posts and employments, from the admiral and the field-marshal to the ensign, without any regard to birth.

Having always in his own mind, and willing to imprint it on those of his subjects, that services are preferable to pedigree : a certain rank was likewise fixed for the women ; and she who took a place in a public assembly, that did not properly belong to her, was obliged to pay a fine.

By a still more useful regulation, every private soldier, on being made an officer, instantly became a gentleman ; and a nobleman, if his character had been impeached in a court of justice, was degraded to a plebeian.

After the settling of these several laws and regulations, it happened that the increase of towns, wealth, and population in the empire, new undertakings, and the creation of new employs, necessarily introduced a multitude of new affairs and unforeseen cases, which were all consequences of that success which attended the czar in the general reformation of his dominions.

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The empress Elizabeth completed the body of laws which her father had begun, in which she gave the most lively proofs of that mildness and clemency for which she was so justly famed.

C H A P. XVI.

OF RELIGION.

AT this time also Peter laboured more than ever to reform the clergy. He had abolished the patriarchal office, and by this act of authority had alienated the minds of the ecclesiastics. He was determined that the imperial power should be free and absolute, and that of the church respected, but submissive. His design was, to establish a council of religion, which should always subsist, but dependent on the sovereign, and that it should give no laws to the church, but such as should be approved of by the head of the state, of which the church was a part. He was assisted in this undertaking by the archbishop of Novogorod, named Theophanes Procop, or Pocopowitz, i. e. son of Procop.

This prelate was a person of great learning and sagacity; his travels thro' the different parts of Europe had afforded him opportunities of remarks on the several abuses which reign amongst them. The czar, who had himself been a witness of the same, had this great advantage in forming all his regulations, that he was possessed of an unlimited power to chuse what was useful, and reject what was dangerous.

ous. He laboured, in concert with the archbishop, in the years 1718 and 1719, to effect his design. He established a perpetual synod, to be composed of twelve members, partly bishops, and partly archpriests, all to be chosen by the sovereign. This college was afterwards augmented to fourteen.

The motives of this establishment were explained by the czar in a preliminary discourse. The chief and most remarkable of these was, "That, under the administration of a college of priests, there was less danger of troubles and insurrections, than under the government of a single head of the church; because the common people, who are always prone to superstition, might, by seeing one head of the church, and another of the state, be led to believe that they were in fact two different powers." And hereupon he cites as an example, the divisions which so long subsisted between the empire and the papal see, and which stained so many kingdoms with blood.

Peter thought, and openly declared, that the notion of two powers in a state, founded on the allegory of the two swords, mentioned in the apostles, was absurd and erroneous.

This court was invested with the ecclesiastical power of regulating all penances, and examining into the morals and capacity of those nominated by the court to bishopricks, to pass judgment *en dernier ressort* in all causes relating to religion, in which it was the custom formerly to appeal to the patriarch, and also to take cognizance of the revenues of monasteries, and the distribution of alms.

This

This synod had the title of *most holy*, the same which the patriarchs were wont to assume, and in fact the czar seemed to have preserved the patriarchal dignity, but divided among fourteen members, who were all dependent on the crown, and were to take an oath of obedience, which the patriarchs never did. The members of this holy synod, when met in assembly, had the same rank as the senators; but they were, like the senate, all dependent on the prince. But neither this new form of church administration, nor the ecclesiastical code, were in full vigour till four years after its institution, namely in 1722. Peter at first intended, that the synod should have the presentation of those whom they thought most worthy to fill the vacant bishopricks. These were to be nominated by the emperor, and consecrated by the synod. Peter frequently presided in person at the assembly. One day that a vacant see was to be filled, the synod observed to the emperor, that they had none but ignorant persons to present to his majesty: "Well then," replied the czar, "you have only to pitch upon the most honest man, he will be worth two learned ones."

It is to be observed, that the Greek church has none of that motley order called secular abbots. The *petit collet* is unknown there, otherwise than by the ridiculousness of its character; but by another abuse (as every thing in this world must be subject to abuse) the bishops and prelates are all chosen from the monastic orders. The first monks were only laymen, partly devotees, and partly fanatics, who retired into the deserts, where they were at length gathered together by St. Basil, who gave them
a body

a body of rules, and then they took vows, and were reckoned as the lower order of the church, which is the first step to be taken to arise at higher dignities. It was this that filled all Greece and Asia with monks. Russia was overrun with them. They became rich, powerful, and tho' excessively ignorant, they were, at the accession of Peter to the throne, almost the only persons who knew how to write. Of this knowledge they made such an abuse, when struck and confounded with the new regulations which Peter introduced in all the departments of government, that he was obliged in 1703 to issue an edict, forbidding the use of pen and ink to the monks, without an express order from the archimandrite, or prior of the convent, who in that case was responsible for the behaviour of those to whom he granted this indulgence.

Peter designed to make this a standing law, and at first he intended, that no one should be admitted into any order under fifty years of age; but that appeared too late an age, as the life of man being in general so limited, there was not time sufficient for such persons to acquire the necessary qualifications for being made bishops; and therefore, with the advice of his synod, he placed it at thirty years complete, but never under; at the same time expressly prohibiting any person exercising the profession of a soldier, or an husbandman, to enter into a convent, without an immediate order from the emperor, or the synod, and to admit no married man upon any account, even tho' divorced from his wife; unless that wife should, at the same time, embrace a religious life of her own pure will, and that neither of them had any children. No person

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in actual employ under the government, can take the habit, without an express order of state for that purpose. Every monk is obliged to work with his own hands at some trade. The nuns are never to go without the walls of their convent, and at the age of fifty are to receive the tonsure, as did the deaconesses of the primitive church; but if, before undergoing that ceremony, they have an inclination to marry, they are not only allowed, but even exhorted so to do. An admirable regulation in a country where population is of infinitely greater use than a monastic life.

Peter was desirous that those unhappy females, whom God has destined to people a kingdom, and who, by a mistaken devotion, annihilated in cloisters, that race of which they would otherwise become mothers, should at least be of some service to society, which they thus injure; and therefore ordered, that they should all be employed in some handyworks, suitable to their sex. The empress Catharine took upon herself the care of sending for several handicrafts over from Brabant and Holland, whom she distributed among these convents, and, in a short time, they produced several kinds of work, which the empress and her ladies always wore as a part of their dress.

There cannot perhaps be any thing conceived more prudent than these institutions; but what merits the attention of all ages, is the regulation which Peter made himself, and which he addressed to the synod in 1724. The ancient ecclesiastical institution is there very learnedly explained, and the indolence of the monkish life admirable well exposed; and he not only
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recommends an application to labour and industry, but even commands it; and that the principal occupation of those people should be, to assist and relieve the poor. He likewise orders, that sick and infirm soldiers shall be quartered in the convents, and that a certain number of monks shall be set apart to take care of them, and that the most strong and healthy of these shall cultivate the lands belonging to those convents. He orders the same regulations to be observed in the monasteries for women, and that the strongest of these shall take care of the gardens, and the rest to wait on sick or infirm women, who shall be brought from the neighbouring country into the convents for that purpose. He also enters into the minutest details relating to these services; and lastly, he appoints certain monasteries of both sexes for the reception and education of orphans.

In reading this ordinance of Peter the Great, which was published the 31st of January 1724, one would imagine it to have been framed by a minister of state and a father of the church.

Almost all the customs in the Russian church are different from those of ours. As soon as a man is made a sub-deacon, we prohibit him from marrying, and he is accounted guilty of sacrilege if he proves instrumental to the population of his country. On the contrary, when any one has taken a sub-deacon's orders in Russia, he is obliged likewise to take a wife, and then may rise to the rank of priest, and arch-priest, but he cannot be made a bishop unless he is a widower and a monk.

Peter forbid all parish-priests from bringing up more than one son to the service of the church, unless it was particularly desired by the parishioners; and this he did, lest a numerous family might in time come to tyrannize over the parish. We may perceive in these little circumstances relating to church-government, that the legislator had always the good of the state in view, and that he took every precaution to make the clergy properly respected, without being dangerous, and that they should be neither contemptible nor powerful.

In those curious memoirs, composed by an officer who was a particular favourite of Peter the Great, I find the following anecdote. One day a person reading to the czar that number of the English Spectator, in which a parallel is drawn between him and Lewis XIV. "I do not think," said Peter, "that I deserve the preference that is here given me over that monarch; but I have been fortunate enough to have the superiority over him in one essential point, namely, that of having obliged my clergy to live in peace and submission, whereas my brother Lewis has suffered himself to be ruled by his."

A prince, whose days were almost wholly spent in the fatigues of war, and his nights in the compiling laws for the better government of so large an empire, and in directing so many great labours, thro' a space of two thousand leagues, must stand in need of some hours of amusement. Diversions at that time were neither so noble or elegant as they now are, and therefore we must not wonder if Peter amused himself with the entertainment of the sham conclave, of which mention

tion has been already made, and other diversions of the same stamp, which were frequently at the expence of the Romish church, to which he had a great dislike, and which was very pardonable in a prince of the Greek communion, who was determined to be master in his own dominions. He likewise gave several entertainments of the same kind at the expence of the monks of his own country ; but of the ancient monks, whose follies and bigotry he wished to ridicule, while he strove to reform the new.

We have already seen, that, previous to his publishing his church-laws, he created one of his fools pope, and celebrated the feast of the sham conclave. This fool, whose name was Iosof, was between eighty and ninety. The czar took it into his head to make him marry an old widow of his own age, and to have their nuptials publicly solemnized ; he caused the invitation to the marriage guests to be made by four persons who were remarkable for stammering. The bride was conducted to church by decrepid old men, four of the most bulky men that could be found in Russia acted as running footmen. The music were seated in a waggon drawn by bears, whom they every now and then pricked with goads of iron, and who, by their roaring, formed a full base, perfectly agreeable to the concert in the cart. The married couple received the benediction in the cathedral from the hands of a deaf and blind priest, who, to appear more ridiculous, wore a large pair of spectacles on his nose. The procession, the wedding, the marriage-feast, the undressing and putting to bed of the bride and bridegroom, were all of a piece with the rest of this burlesque ceremony.

We may perhaps be apt to look upon this as a very trivial and ridiculous entertainment for a great prince ; but is it more so than our carnival ? or to see five or six hundred persons with masks on their faces, and dressed in the most ridiculous manner, skipping and jumping about together for a whole night in a large room, without speaking a word to each other ?

In fine, were the ancient feasts of the fools and the asses, and the abbot of the cuckolds, which were formerly celebrated in our churches, much superior ; or did our comedies of the foolish Mother exhibit marks of a greater genius ?

C H A P. XV.

The Congress of Aland or Oeland. Death of Charles XII. &c. The Treaty of Nyfstadt.

TH E S E immense labours, this minute review of the whole Russian empire, and the melancholy proceedings against his unhappy son, were not the only objects which demanded the attention of the czar ; it was necessary to secure himself without doors, at the same time that he was settling order and tranquillity within. The war with Sweden was still carried on, though faintly, in hopes of an approaching peace.

It is a known fact, that in the year 1717 Cardinal Alberoni, prime minister to Philip V. of Spain, and baron Goertz, who had gained an entire ascendant over the mind of Charles XII. had concerted a project to change the face of affairs in Europe, by effecting a reconciliation

tion between this last prince and the czar, driving George I. from the English throne, and replacing Stanislaus on that of Poland, while cardinal Alberoni was to procure the regency of France for his master Philip. Goertz, as has been already observed, had opened his mind on this head to the czar himself. Alberoni had begun a negotiation with prince Kourakin, the czar's ambassador at the Hague, by means of the Spanish ambassador Barette Landi, a native of Mantua, who had, like the cardinal, quitted his own country to live in Spain.

Thus a set of foreigners were about to overturn the general system, for masters under whose dominion they were not born, or rather for themselves. Charles XII. gave into all these projects, and the czar contented himself with examining them in private. Since the year 1716 he had made only feeble efforts against Sweden, and those rather with a view to oblige that kingdom to purchase peace by restoring those places it had taken in the course of the war, than with an intent to crush it altogether.

The baron Goertz, ever active and indefatigable in his projects, had prevailed on the czar to send plenipotentiaries to the island of Oeland to set on foot a treaty of peace. Bruce, a Scotchman, and grand master of the ordnance in Russia, and the famous Osterman, who was afterwards at the head of affairs, arrived at the place appointed for the congress exactly at the time that the czarowitz was put under arrest at Moscow, Goertz and Gillembourg were already there on the part of Charles XII. both impatient to bring about a reconciliation be-

tween that prince and Peter, and to revenge themselves on the king of England. It was an extraordinary circumstance that there should be a congress, and no cessation of arms. The czar's fleet still continued cruizing on the coasts of Sweden, and taking the ships of that nation. Peter thought by keeping up hostilities to hasten the conclusion of a peace, of which he knew the Swedes stood greatly in need, and which must prove highly glorious to the conqueror.

Notwithstanding the little hostilities which still continued, every thing bespoke the speedy approach of peace. The preliminaries began by mutual acts of generosity, which produce stronger effects than many hand-writings. The czar sent back without ransom marshal Erenschild, whom he had taken prisoner with his own hands, and Charles in return did the same by Trubetskoy and Gollowin, who had continued prisoners in Sweden ever since the battle of Narva.

The negotiations now advanced apace, and a total change was going to be made in the affairs of the north. Goertz proposed to the czar to put the duchy of Mecklenbourg into his hands. Duke Charles its sovereign, who had married a daughter of czar John, Peter's elder brother, was at variance with the nobility of the country, who had taken arms against him. And Peter, who looked upon that prince as his brother-in-law, had an army in Mecklenbourg ready to espouse his cause. The king of England, elector of Hanover, declared on the side of the nobles. Here was another opportunity of mortifying the king of England, by putting Peter in possession of Mecklenbourg, who being al-
ready

ready master of Livonia, would by this means, in a short time, become more powerful in Germany than any of its electors. The duchy of Courland was to be given to the duke of Mecklenbourg, as an equivalent for his own, together with a part of Prussia at the expence of Poland, who was to have Stanislaus again for its king. Bremen and Verden were to revert to Sweden; but these provinces could not be wrested out of the hands of the king of England but by force of arms; accordingly Goertz's project was (as we have already said) to effect a firm union between Peter and Charles XII. and that not only by the bands of peace, but by an offensive alliance, in which case they were jointly to send an army into Scotland. Charles XII. after having made himself master of Norway, was to make a descent on Great Britain, and he fondly imagined he should be able to set a new sovereign on the throne of those kingdoms, after having replaced one of his own chusing on that of Poland. Cardinal Alberoni promised both Peter and Charles to furnish them with subsidies. The fall of the king of England would, it was supposed, draw with it that of his ally the regent of France, who being thus deprived of all support, was to fall a victim to the victorious arms of Spain, and the discontent of the French nation.

Alberoni and Goertz now thought themselves secure of totally overturning the system of Europe, when a cannon-ball from the bastions of Frederickshal in Norway confounded all their mighty projects. Charles XII. was killed, the Spanish fleet was beaten by that of England, the conspiracy which

had been formed in France was discovered and quelled, Alberoni was driven out of Spain, and Goertz was beheaded at Stockholm; and of all this formidable league so lately made, the czar alone retained his credit, who, by not having put himself in the power of any one, gave law to all his neighbours.

After the death of Charles XII. there was a total change of measures in Sweden. Charles had governed with a despotic power, and his sister Ulrica was elected queen, on express condition of renouncing arbitrary government. Charles intended to form an alliance with the czar against England and its allies, and the new government of Sweden now joined those allies against the czar.

The congress at Oeland, however, was not broken up; but the Swedes, now in league with the English, flattered themselves that the fleets of that nation sent into the Baltic would procure them a more advantageous peace. A body of Hanoverian troops entered the dominions of the duke of Mecklen-bourg, but were soon driven from thence by the czar's forces.

Peter likewise had a body of troops in Poland, which kept in awe both the party of Augustus, and that of Stanislaus; and as to Sweden, he had a fleet always ready, either to make a descent on their coasts, or to oblige the Swedish government to hasten matters in the congress. This fleet consisted of twelve large ships of the line, and several lesser ones, besides frigates and galleys. The czar served on board this fleet as vice-admiral, under the command of admiral Apraxin.

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A part of this fleet signalized itself in the beginning against a Swedish squadron, and after an obstinate engagement took one ship of the line, and two frigates. Peter, who constantly endeavoured, by every possible means, to encourage and improve the navy he had been at so much pains to establish, gave, on this occasion, 60,000 French livres * in money among the officers of this squadron, with several gold medals, besides conferring marks of honour on those who principally distinguished themselves.

About this time also the English fleet under admiral Norris came up the Baltic, in order to favour the Swedes. Peter, who well knew how far he could depend on his new navy, was not to be frightened by the English, but boldly kept the sea, and sent to know of the English admiral if he was come only as a friend to the Swedes, or as an enemy to Russia? The admiral returned for answer, that he had not as yet any positive orders from his court on that head; however Peter, notwithstanding this equivocal reply, continued to keep the sea with his fleet.

The English fleet, which in fact was come thither only to shew itself, and thereby induce the czar to grant more favourable conditions of peace to the Swedes, went to Copenhagen, and the Russians made some descents on the Swedish coast, and even in the neighbourhood of Copenhagen, where they destroyed some copper mines, burnt about 15,000 houses, and did mischief enough to make July 1719. the Swedes heartily wish for a speedy conclusion of the peace.

* About 3000 l. sterling.

Accordingly, the new queen of Sweden pressed the renewal of the negotiations; Osterman himself was sent to Stockholm, and matters continued in this situation during the whole of the year 1719.

The following year the prince of Hesse, husband to the queen of Sweden, and now become king, in virtue of her having yielded up the sovereign power in his favour, began his reign by sending a minister to the court of Petersburg, in order to hasten the so much desired peace; but the war was still carried on in the midst of these negotiations.

The English fleet joined that of the Swedes, but did not yet commit any hostilities, as there was no open rupture between the courts of Russia and England, and admiral Norris even offered his master's mediation towards bringing about a peace; but as this offer was made with arms in hand, it rather retarded than facilitated the negotiations. The coasts of Sweden, and those of the new Russian provinces in the Baltic, are so situated, that the former lay open to every insult, while the latter are secured by their difficult access. This was clearly seen when admiral Norris, after having thrown off the mask, made a descent in conjunction with the

Swedish fleet on a little island in June 1720. the province of Esthonia, called Narguen, which belonged to the czar, where they only burnt a peasant's house; but the Russians at the same time made a descent near Wasa, and burnt 41 villages, and upwards of 1000 houses, and did an infinite deal of damage to the country round about. Prince Galitzin boarded and took four Swedish frigates,

gates, and the English admiral seemed to have come only to be spectator of that pitch of glory to which the czar had raised his infant navy; for he had but just shewn himself in those seas, when the Swedish frigates were carried in triumph into the harbour of Cronstot before Petersburg *. On this occasion, methinks, the English did too much if they came only as mediators, and too little if as enemies.

Nov. 1720.] At length, the new king of Sweden demanded a cessation of arms; and as he found the menaces of the English had stood him in no stead, he had recourse to the duke of Orleans, the French regent; and this prince, at once an ally of Russia and Sweden, had the honour of effecting a Feb. 1721. reconciliation between them. He sent Campredon his plenipotentiary to the court of Petersburg, and from thence to that of Stockholm. A congress was opened at Ny-stadt †; but the czar would not agree to a cessation of arms till matters were on the point of being concluded, and the plenipotentiaries ready to sign. He had an army in Finland ready to subdue the rest of that province, and his fleets were continually threatening the Swedish coasts, so that he seemed absolute master of dictating the terms of peace; accordingly they subscribed to whatever he thought fit to demand. By this

* The czar celebrated this victory by a naval triumph at Peterburgh, caused a medal to be struck to perpetuate the glory of the action, presented prince Galitzin with a sword set with diamonds, and distributed a large sum of money among the officers and sailors who had given such signal proofs of their valour.

† A little town of the Bothnick gulf in North Finland.

treaty he was to remain in perpetual possession of all that his arms had conquered, from the borders of Courland to the extremity of the gulph of Finland, and from thence again of the whole extent of the country of Kexholm, and that narrow slip of Finland which stretches out to the northward of the neighbourhood of Kexholm, so that he remained master of all Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, with the country of Wybourg, and the neighbouring isles, which secured to him the sovereignty of the sea, as likewise of the isles of Oesel, Dago, Mona, and several others: the whole forming an extent of 3000 leagues of country, of unequal breadth, and which altogether made a large kingdom, that proved the reward of twenty years immense pains and labour.

The peace was signed at Nyfstadt the 10th of September 1721, N. S. by the Russian minister Osterman, and general Bruce.

Peter was the more rejoiced at that event, as it freed him from the necessity of keeping such large armies on the frontiers of Sweden, as also from any apprehensions on the part of England, or of the neighbouring states, and left him at full liberty to exert his whole attention to the new modelling of his empire, in which he had already made so successful a beginning, and to cherish arts and commerce, which he had introduced among his subjects, at the expence of infinite labour and industry.

In the first transports of his satisfaction, we find him writing in these terms to his plenipotentiaries: " You have drawn up the treaty as
" if we ourself had dictated and sent it to you
" to offer the Swedes to sign. This glorious
" event

“ event shall be ever present to our remembrance.”

All degrees of people throughout the Russian empire gave proofs of their satisfaction, by the most extraordinary rejoicings of all kinds, and particularly at Petersburg. The triumphal festivals, with which the czar had entertained his people, during the course of the war, were nothing to compare to these rejoicings for the peace, which every one hailed with unutterable satisfaction. The peace itself was the most glorious of all his triumphs; and what pleased more than all the pompous shews on the occasion, was a free pardon and general release granted to all prisoners, and a general remission of all sums due to the royal treasury for taxes throughout the whole empire, to the day of the publication of the peace. In consequence of which a multitude of unhappy wretches, who had been confined in prison, were set at liberty, excepting only those guilty of highway-robbery, murder, or treason *.

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* Notwithstanding the great rejoicings made on this occasion, Peter was no ways inattentive to the affairs of state; but held frequent councils thereon: and being desirous, as his son Peter-Petrowitz was dead, to settle the succession on a prince who would follow his maxims, and prosecute the great designs which he had begun for civilizing his people, he ordered public notice to be given, on the 23d of February, to all his subjects inhabiting the city of Moscow, to repair the next day to Castle-church; which they having done, printed papers were delivered to them all, signifying, “ That it was his imperial majesty’s pleasure, that every man should swear, and give under his hand, that he would not only approve the choice his majesty should make of a successor, but acknowledge the person he should appoint as emperor and sovereign.” An order was likewise published a few days after at Petersburg, requiring the magistrates, and all other persons, to subscribe the same
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It was at this time that the senate decreed Peter the titles of *Great, Emperor and Father of his Country*. Count Goloskin, the high chancellor, made a speech to the czar in the great cathedral, in the name of all the orders of the state, the senators crying aloud, *Long live our emperor and father !* in which acclamations they were joined by the united voice of all the people present. The ministers of France, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and the States-General, waited on him, with their congratulations on the titles lately bestowed on him, and formally acknowledged for emperor him who had been always publicly known in Holland by that title, ever since the battle of Pultowa. The names of *Father*, and of *Great*, were glorious epithets, which no one in Europe could dispute him ; that of *Emperor* was only an honorary title, given by custom to the sovereigns of Germany, as titular kings of the Romans ; and it requires time before such appellations come to be formally adopted by those courts where forms of state and real glory are different

declaration ; and all the *grande*s of the empire were commanded, on pain of death and confiscation, to repair to Moscow by the latter end of March for that purpose, except those inhabiting Astracan and Siberia, who, living at too great a distance, were excused from giving their personal attendance, and permitted to subscribe before their respective governors. This oath was readily taken by all ranks and degrees of the people, who were well assured that their emperor would make choice of one who was every way worthy of the succession, and capable of supporting the dignity intended for him : but they were still in the dark as to the identical person, though it was generally believed to be prince Nariskin, who was nearly related to the emperor, and allowed to have all the qualities requisite for his successor : but a little time shewed them, that this conjecture was groundless.

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things. But Peter was in a short time after acknowledged emperor by all the states of Europe, excepting only that of Poland, which was still divided by factions, and the pope, whose suffrage was become of very little significance since the court of Rome had lost its credit in proportion as other nations became more enlightened.

C H A P. XVI.

Conquests in P E R S I A.

THE situation of Russia is such, as necessarily obliges her to keep up certain connections with all the nations that lie in the 5th degree of north latitude. When under a bad administration, she was a prey by turns to the Tartars, the Swedes, and the Poles; but when governed by a resolute and vigorous prince, she became formidable to all her neighbours. Peter began his reign by an advantageous treaty with the Chinese. He had waged war at one and the same time against the Swedes and the Turks, and now prepared to lead his victorious armies into Persia.

At this time Persia began to fall into that deplorable state, in which we now behold her. Let us figure to ourselves the thirty years war in Germany, the times of the league, those of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the reigns of Charles VI. and of king John in France, the civil wars in England, the long and horrible ravages of the whole Russian empire by the Tartars, or their invasion of
China;

China; and then we shall have some slight conception of the miseries under which the Persian empire has so long groaned.

A weak and indolent prince, and a powerful and enterprising subject, are sufficient to plunge a whole nation into such an abyss of disasters. Hussein, sha, shaic, or sophi of Persia, a descendant of the great sha Abbas, who sat at this time on the throne of Persia, had given himself wholly up to luxury and effeminacy: his prime minister committed acts of the greatest violence and injustice, which this great prince winked at, and this gave rise to forty years desolation and bloodshed.

Persia, like Turkey, has several provinces, all governed in a different manner; she has subjects immediately under her dominion, vassals, tributary princes, and even nations, to whom the court was wont to pay a tribute, under the name of subsidies: for instance, the people of Daghestan, who inhabit the branches of mount Caucasus, to the westward of the Caspian sea, which was formerly a part of the ancient Albania; for all nations have changed their appellation and their limits. These are now called Leshians, and are mountaineers, who are rather under the protection, than the dominion of Persia; to these the government paid subsidies, for defending the frontiers.

At the other extremity of the empire, towards the Indies, was the prince of Candahar, who commanded a kind of martial militia, called Aghwans. This prince of Candahar was a vassal of the Persian, as the hospodars of Walachia and Moldavia are of the Turkish empire: this
vassalage

vassalage was not hereditary, but exactly the same with the ancient feudal tenures established throughout Europe, by that race of Tartars who overthrew the Roman empire. The Aghwan militia, of which the prince of Candahar was the head, was the same with the Albanians on the coasts of the Caspian sea, in the neighbourhood of Daghestan, and a mixture of Circassians and Georgians, like the ancient Mamelucks who enslaved Egypt. The name of Aghwans is a corruption; Timur, whom we call Tamerlane, had led these people into India, and they remained settled in the province of Candahar, which sometimes belonged to the Mogul empire, and sometimes to that of Persia. It was these Aghwans and Leshians who began the revolution.

Mir-Weis, or Meriwitz, intendant of the province, whose office was only to collect the tributes, assassinated the prince of Candahar, armed the militia, and continued master of the province till his death, which happened in 1717. His brother came quietly to the succession, by paying a slight tribute to the Persian court. But the son of Mir-Weis, who inherited the ambition of his father, assassinated his uncle, and began to erect himself into a conqueror. This young man was called Mir-Mahmoud, but he was known in Europe only by the name of his father, who had begun the rebellion. Mahmoud reinforced his Aghwans, by adding to them all the Guebres he could get together. These Guebres were an ancient race of Persians, who had been dispersed by the caliph Omar, and who still continued
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attached to the religion of the Magi (formerly flourishing in the reign of Cyrus) and were always secret enemies to the new Persians. Having assembled his forces, Mahmoud marched into the heart of Persia, at the head of an hundred thousand men.

At the same time the Leshians or Albanians, who, on account of the troublesome times, had not received their subsidies from the court of Persia, came down from their mountains with an armed force, so that the flames of civil war were lighted up at both ends of the empire, and extended themselves even to the capital.

These Leshians ravaged all that country, which stretches along the western borders of the Caspian sea, as far as Derbent, or the iron-gate. In this country is situated the city of Shamache, about fifteen leagues distant from the sea, and is said to have been the ancient residence of Cyrus, and by the Greeks called Cyropolis, for we know nothing of the situation or names of these countries but what we have from the Greeks; but as the Persians never had a prince called Cyrus, much less had they any city called Cyropolis. It is much in the same manner that the Jews, who commenced authors when they were settled in Alexandria, framed a notion of a city called Scythopolis, which, said they, was built by the Scythians in the neighbourhood of Judea, as if either Scythians or ancient Jews could have given Greek names to their towns.

The city of Shamache was very rich. The Armenians who inhabit in the neighbourhood of this part of the Persian empire, carried on
an

an immense traffic there, and Peter had lately established a company of Russian merchants at his own expence, which company became very flourishing. The Lesgians made themselves masters of this city by surprize, plundered it, and put to death all the Russians who traded there under the protection of shah Hussein, after having stripped all their warehouses. The loss on this occasion was said to amount to four millions of rubles.

Peter upon this sent to demand satisfaction of the emperor Hussein, who was then disputing the throne with the rebel Mahmoud, who had usurped it, and likewise of Mahmoud himself. The former of these was willing to do the czar justice, the other refused it; Peter therefore resolved to right himself, and take advantage of the distractions in the Persian empire.

Mir-Mahmoud still pushed his conquests in Persia. The sophi hearing that the emperor of Russia was preparing to enter the Caspian sea, in order to revenge the murder of his subjects at Shamache, made private application to him, by the means of an Armenian, to take upon him at the same time the defence of Persia.

Peter had for a considerable time formed a project to make himself master of the Caspian sea, by means of a powerful naval force, and to turn the tide of commerce from Persia and a part of India through his own dominions. He had caused several parts of this sea to be sounded, the coasts to be surveyed, and exact charts made of the whole. He then set sail for the coast of Persia the 15th day of May, 1722.
Ca-

Catherine accompanied him in this voyage, as she had done in the former. They sailed down the Wolga as far as the city of Astracan. From thence he hastened to forward the canals which were to join the Caspian, the Baltic, and Euxine seas, a work which has been since executed in part under the reign of his grandson.

While he was directing these works, the necessary provisions for his expedition were arrived in the Caspian sea. He was to take with him 22,000 foot, 9000 dragoons, 15,000 cossacks, and 3000 seamen, who were to work the ships, and occasionally assist the soldiery in making descents on the coast. The horse were to march over-land through deserts where there was frequently no water to be had, and afterwards to pass over the mountains of Caucasus, where 300 men are sufficient to stop the progress of a whole army; but the distracted condition in which Persia then was, warranted the most hazardous enterprizes.

The czar sailed about an hundred leagues to the southward of Astracan, till he came to the little town of Andrewhoff. It may appear extraordinary to hear of the name of Andrew on the coasts of the Hyrcanian sea; but some Georgians, who were formerly a sect of Christians, had built this town, which the Persians afterwards fortified; but it fell an easy prey to the czar's arms. From thence he continued advancing by land into the province of Daghestan, and caused manifestoes to be circulated in the
Turkish

Turkish and Persian languages *. It was necessary to keep fair with the Ottoman Porte, who reckoned among its subjects, not only the Circassians and Georgians, who border upon this country, but also several powerful vassals, who had of late put themselves under the protection of the grand signior.

Among others there was one very powerful, named Mahmoud d'Utmich, who took the title of sultan, and had the courage to attack the czar's troops, by which he was totally defeated, and the story says that his whole country was made a bonfire on the occasion.

Sept. 14, 1722.] In a short time afterwards Peter arrived at the city of Derbent, by the Persians and Turks called Demir Capi, that is, the Iron Gate, and so named from having formerly had an iron gate at the south entrance. The city is long and narrow, its upper part joins to a rocky branch of mount Caucasus, and the walls of the lower part are washed by the sea, which in violent storms make a breach over them. These walls might pass for one of the wonders of antiquity, being forty feet in height, and six in breadth, defended with square towers at the distance of

* These he published and distributed along the borders of the Caspian sea, therein declaring, " That he came not upon the frontiers of Persia, with an intention of reducing any of the provinces of that kingdom to his obedience, but only to maintain the lawful possessor of them on his throne, and to defend him powerfully, together with his faithful subjects, against the tyranny of Mir-Mahmoud, and to obtain satisfaction from him and his Tartars, for the robberies and mischiefs which they had committed in the Russian empire."

every

every fifty feet. The whole work seems one uniform piece, and is built of a sort of brown free-stone mixed with pounded shells, which served as mortar, so that the whole forms a mass harder than marble. The city lies open from the sea, but that part of it next the land appears impregnable. There are still some ruins of an old wall like that of China, which must have been built in the earliest times of antiquity, and stretched from the borders of the Caspian sea to the Pontus Euxinus; and this was probably a rampart raised by the ancient kings of Persia against those swarms of barbarian herds which dwelt between these two seas.

According to the Persian tradition, the city of Derbent was partly repaired and fortified by Alexander the Great. Arrian and Quintus Curtius tell us, that Alexander absolutely rebuilt this city. They say indeed that it was on the banks of the Tanais or Don, but then in their time the Greeks gave the name of Tanais to the river Cyrus, which runs by the city. It would be a contradiction to suppose that Alexander should build an harbour in the Caspian sea, on a river that opens into the Black sea.

There were formerly three or four other ports in different parts of the Caspian sea, all which were probably built with the same view, for the several nations inhabiting to the west, east, and north of that sea, have in all times been barbarians, who had rendered themselves formidable to the rest of the world, and from hence principally issued those swarms of conquerors who subjected Asia and Europe.

And

And here I must beg leave to remark how much pleasure authors in all ages have taken to impose upon mankind, and how much they have preferred a vain shew of eloquence to matter of fact. Quintus Curtius puts into the mouths of Scythians an admirable speech full of moderation and philosophy, as if the Tartars of those regions had been all so many sages, and that Alexander had not been the general nominated by the Greeks against the king of Persia, sovereign of the greatest part of southern Scythia and the Indies. Other rhetoricians, thinking to imitate Quintus Curtius, have studied to make us look upon those savages of Caucasus and its dreary deserts, who lived wholly upon rapine and bloodshed, as the people in the world most remarkable for austere virtue and justice, and have painted Alexander, the avenger of Greece, and the conqueror of those who would have enslaved him and his country, as a public robber, who had ravaged the world without justice or reason.

Such writers do not consider, that these Tartars were never other than destroyers, and that Alexander built towns in the very country which they inhabited; and in this respect I may venture to compare Peter the Great to Alexander; like him he was assiduous and indefatigable in his pursuits, a lover and friend of the useful arts; he surpassed him as a law-giver, and like him endeavoured to change the tide of commerce in the world, and built and repaired at least as many towns as that celebrated hero of antiquity.

On the approach of the Russian army, the governor of Derbent resolved not to sustain a siege, whether he thought he was not able to defend the place, or that he preferred the czar's protection to that of the tyrant Mahmoud; brought the keys of the town and citadel (which were silver) and presented them to Peter, whose army peaceably entered the city, and then encamped on the sea-shore.

The emperor Mahmoud, already master of great part of Persia, in vain endeavoured to prevent the czar from taking possession of Derbent: he stirred up the neighbouring Tartars, and marched into Persia to the relief of the place, but too late, for Derbent was already in the hands of the conqueror.

Peter however was not in a condition to push his successes any further at this time. The vessels which were bringing him a fresh supply of provisions, horses, and recruits, had been cast away near Astracan, and the season was far spent. He therefore returned to Jan. 5. Moscow, which he entered in triumph; and after his arrival (according to custom) gave a strict account of his expedition to the vice czar Romadanowski, thus keeping up this extraordinary farce, which, says his eulogium, pronounced in the academy of sciences at Paris, ought to have been performed before all the monarchs of the earth.

The empire of Persia continued to be divided between Hussein and the usurper Mahmoud. The first of these thought to find a protector in the czar, and the other dreaded him as an avenger, who was come to snatch the fruits of his rebellion

rebellion out of his hands. Mahmoud exerted all his endeavours to stir up the Ottoman Porte against Peter, and for this purpose sent an embassy to Constantinople, while the princes of Daghestan, who were under the protection of the grand signior, and who had been stript of their territories by the victorious army of Peter, cried aloud for vengeance. The divan was now alarmed for the safety of Georgia, which the Turks reckon in the number of their dominions.

The grand signior was on the point of declaring war against the czar, but was prevented by the courts of Vienna and Paris. The emperor of Germany at the same time declared, that if Russia should be attacked by the Turks, he must be obliged to defend it. The marquis de Bonac, the French ambassador at Constantinople, made a dextrous use of the menaces of the Imperial court, and at the same time insinuated, that it was contrary to the true interests of the Turkish empire, to suffer a rebel and an usurper to set the example of dethroning sovereigns, and that the czar had done no more than what the grand signior himself ought to have done.

During these delicate negotiations, Mir Mahmoud was advanced to the gates of Derbent, and had laid waste all the neighbouring country, in order to cut off all means of subsistence from the Russian army. That part of ancient Hyrcania, now called Ghilan, was reduced to a desert, and the inhabitants threw themselves under the protection of the Russians, whom they looked upon as their deliverers.

In this they followed the example of the sopher himself. That unfortunate prince sent a formal embassy to Peter the Great, to request his assistance; but the ambassador was hardly departed, when the rebel Mir Mahmoud seized on Ispahan and the person of his master.

Thamaseb, the son of the dethroned sopher, who was taken prisoner, found means to escape out of the tyrant's hands, and got together a body of troops, with which he gave the usurper battle. He seconded his father's entreaties to Peter the Great for his protection, and sent to the ambassador the same instructions which Shah Hussein had given him.

This ambassador, whose name was Ishmael Beg, found that his negotiations had proved successful, even before he arrived in person, for, on landing at Astracan, he learnt that general Matufkin was going to set out with fresh recruits to reinforce the army in Daghestan. The city of Baku or Bachu, with which the Persians give to the Caspian sea the name of the sea of Bachu, was not yet taken. The ambassador therefore gave the Russian general a letter for the inhabitants, in which he exhorted them in his master's name to submit to the emperor in Russia. The ambassador then proceeded for Petersburg, and general Matufkin departed to lay siege to the city of Bachu.

Aug. 1723. The Persian ambassador arrived at the czar's court the very day that tidings were brought of the reduction of that city.

Baku is situate near Shamachi, but is neither so well peopled, nor so rich as the latter. It is chiefly

chiefly remarkable for the naptha, with which it furnishes all Persia. Never was treaty so speedily concluded as that of Ishmael Beg. Czar Peter promised to Sept. 1723. march with his forces into Persia, in order to revenge the death of his subjects, and to succour Thamasb against the usurper of his crown, and the new sopher in return was to cede to him not only the towns of Bachu and Derbent, but likewise the provinces of Guilan, Mazanderan, Aferabath.

Ghilan is, as we have already observed, the ancient South Hyrcania; Mazanderan, which joins to it, is the country of the Mardi, or Mardians; and Aferabath borders upon Mazanderan. These were the three principal provinces of the ancient Median kings; so that Peter beheld himself, by the means of arms and treaties, in possession of the original kingdom of Cyrus.

It may not be foreign to our subject to observe, that, by the articles of this convention, the prices of necessaries to be furnished to the army were settled. A camel was to cost only sixty franks (about twelve roubles) a pound of bread no more than five farthings, the same weight of beef about six. These prices furnish a convincing proof of the plenty he found in these countries, that possessions in land are of the most intrinsic value, and that money, which is only of nominal worth, was at that time very scarce.

Such was the deplorable state to which Persia was then reduced, that the unfortunate sopher Thamasb, a wanderer in his own kingdom, and flying before the face of the rebel Mahmoud,

who had dipt his hands in the blood of his father and his brothers, was necessitated to entreat the court of Russia and the Turkish divan to accept of one part of his dominions to preserve for him the rest.

It was agreed then, between czar Peter, sultan Achmet III. and the sophi Thamaseb, that the first of these should keep the three provinces above-named, and that the Porte should have Casbin, Tauris, and Erivan, besides what she had already taken from the usurper. Thus was this noble kingdom dismembered at once by the Russians, the Turks, and the Persians themselves.

And now the emperor Peter might be said to extend his dominions from the further part of the Baltic sea, beyond the southern limits of the Caspian. Persia still continued a prey to violations and devastations, and its natives, till then opulent and polite, were now sunk in poverty and barbarism, while the Russian people had arisen from indigence and ignorance to a state of riches and learning. One single man, by a resolute and enterprizing genius, had brought his country out of obscurity; and another, by his weakness and indolence, had brought destruction upon his.

Hitherto we know very little of the private calamities which for so long a time spread desolation over the face of the Persian empire. It is said, that Shah Hussein was so pusillanimous as to place with his own hands the tiara or crown of Persia on the head of the usurper Mahmoud, and also that this Mahmoud afterwards went mad. Thus the lives of so many thousands of men depend on the caprice of a madman or a fool.

fool. They add furthermore, that Mahmoud, in one of his fits of phrenzy, put to death with his own hand all the sons and nephews of the Shah Hussein to the number of an hundred; and that he caused the gospel of St. John to be read upon his head, in order to purify himself, and to receive a cure for his disorder. These and such like Persian fables have been circulated by our monks, and afterwards printed in Paris.

The tyrant, after having murdered his uncle, was in his turn put to death by his nephew Esheff, who was as cruel and bloody a tyrant as Mahmoud himself.

Shah Thamaseb still continued imploring the assistance of Russia. This Thamaseb or Sha Thomas, was assisted, and afterwards replaced on the throne by the famous Kouli Kan, and was again dethroned by the same Kouli Kan.

The revolutions and wars which Russia had afterwards to encounter against the Turks, and in which she proved victorious, the evacuating the three provinces in Persia, which cost Russia more to keep them than they were worth, are events which do not concern Peter the Great, as they did not happen till several years after his death; it may suffice to observe, that he finished his military career by adding three provinces to his empire on the part next to Persia, after having just before added the same number on that side next to Sweden.

C H A P. XVI. and Last.

Of the Coronation of the Empress Catherine I.
and the Death of Peter the Great.

PE T E R, at his return from his Persian expedition, found himself in a better condition than ever to be the arbiter of the North. He now openly declared himself the protector of Charles XII. whose professed enemy he had been for eighteen years. He sent for the duke of Holstein, nephew to that monarch, to his court, promised him his eldest daughter in marriage, and began to make preparations for supporting him in his claims on the duchy of Holstein Sleswick, and even engaged Feb. 1724. himself so to do by a treaty of alliance, which he concluded with the crown of Sweden.

He continued the works he had begun all over his empire, to the further extremity of Kamtschatka, and for the better direction of them, established an academy of sciences at Peterburg. The arts began now to flourish on every side: manufactures were encouraged, the navy was augmented, the army well-provided, and the laws properly enforced. He now enjoyed his glory in full repose; but was desirous of sharing it in a new manner with her who, according to his own declaration, by remedying the disaster of the campaign of Pruth, had been in some measure the instrument of his acquiring that glory.

Accord-

Accordingly, the coronation of his consort Catherine was performed at Moscow, in presence of the duchess of Courland, his eldest brother's daughter, and the duke of Holstein his intended son-in-law. The declaration which

May 28,
1724.

he published on this occasion merits attention: he therein cites the examples of several Christian princes who had placed the crown on the heads of their consorts, as likewise those of the heathen emperors Bassilides, Justinian, Heraclius, and Leo the philosopher. He enumerates the services Catherine had done to the state, and in particular in the war against the Turks, where my army, says he, which had been reduced to 22,000 men, had to encounter an enemy above 200,000 strong. He does not say in this declaration that the empress was to succeed to the crown after his death; but this ceremony, which was altogether new and unusual in the Russian empire, was one of those means by which he prepared the minds of his subjects for such an event. Another circumstance that might perhaps furnish a stronger reason to believe that he destined Catherine to succeed him on the throne, was, that he himself marched on foot before her the day of her coronation, as captain of a new company, which he had created under the name of the *knights of the empress*.

When they arrived at the cathedral, Peter himself placed the crown on her head; and when she would have fallen down and embraced his knees, he prevented her; and at their return from the church, caused the sceptre and globe to be carried before her. The ceremony

was altogether worthy an emperor, for on every public occasion Peter shewed as much pomp and magnificence as he did plainness and simplicity in his private manner of living.

Having thus crowned his spouse, he at length determined to give his eldest daughter Anna Petrowna in marriage to the duke of Holstein. This princess greatly resembled her father in the face, was very majestic, and of a singular beauty. She was betrothed to the duke of Holstein on the 24th of November 1724, but with very little ceremony. Peter having for some time past found his health greatly impaired, and this, together with some family uneasinesses, that perhaps rather increased his disorder, which in a short time proved fatal, permitted him to have but very little relish for feasts or public diversions in this latter part of his life.

* The empress Catherine had at that time a young man for the chamberlain of her household, whose name was Moens de la Croix, a native of Russia, but of Flemish parents, remarkably handsome and genteel. His sister madame de Balc was bed-chamber woman to the empress, and these two had entirely the management of her household. Being both accused of having taken presents, they were sent to prison, and afterwards brought to their trial by express order of the czar; who, by an edict in the year 1714, had forbidden any one holding a place about court to receive any present or other gratuity, on pain of being declared infamous, and suffering death; and this prohibition had been several times renewed.

The brother and sister were found guilty, and received sentence, and all those who had either purchased their services or given them any gratuity in return for the same, were included therein, except the duke of Holstein and his minister count Bassewitz; as it is probable that the presents made by that prince to those who had a share in bringing about his marriage with the czar's daughter were not looked upon in a criminal light.

Moens was condemned to be beheaded, and his sister (who was the empress's favourite) to receive eleven strokes of the knout. The two sons of this lady, one of whom was an officer in the household, and the other a page, were degraded, and sent to serve as private soldiers in the army in Persia.

These severities, though they shock our manners, were perhaps necessary in a country where the observance of the laws is to be enforced only by the most terrifying rigour. The empress solicited her favourite's pardon; but the czar, offended at her application, peremptorily refused her, and in the heat of his passion, seeing a fine looking-glass in the apartment, he with one blow of his fist broke it into a thousand pieces; and turning to the empress, "Thus, said he, thou seest I can with one stroke of my hand reduce this glass to its original dust." Catherine, in a melting accent, replied, "It is true, you have destroyed one of the greatest ornaments of your palace, but do you think that palace is the more charming for its loss?" This answer appeased the emperor's wrath; but all the favour that Catherine could obtain for her bed-chamber woman was,

that she should receive only five strokes of the knout instead of eleven.

I should not have related this anecdote, had it not been attested by a public minister, who was eye-witness of the whole transaction, and who, by having made presents to the unfortunate brother and sister, was perhaps himself one of the principal causes of their disgrace and sufferings. It was this affair which emboldened those who judge of every thing in the worst light, to spread the report that Catherine hastened the death of her husband, whose choleric disposition filled her with apprehensions that overweighed the gratitude she owed him for the many favours he had heaped upon her.

These cruel suspicions were confirmed by Catherine's recalling to court her woman of the bed-chamber immediately upon the death of the czar, and re-inflating her in her former influence. It is the duty of an historian to relate the public reports which have been circulated in all times in states, on the decease of princes who have been snatched away by a premature death, as if nature was not alone sufficient to put a period to the existence of a crowned head as well as that of a beggar; but it is likewise the duty of an historian to shew how far such reports were rashly or unjustly formed.

There is an immense distance between the momentary discontent which may arise from the morose or harsh behaviour of an husband, and the desperate resolution of poisoning that husband, who is at the same time our sovereign and benefactor in the highest degree. The danger attending such a design would have been as great as it was criminal. Catherine had at that time a powerful

erful party against her, who espoused the cause of the son of the deceased czarowitz. Nevertheless, neither that faction, nor any one person about the court, once suspected the czarina; and the vague rumours which were spread on this head were founded only on the mistaken notions of foreigners, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the affair, and who chose to indulge the wretched pleasure of accusing of heinous crimes those whom they thought interested to commit them. But it was even very doubtful whether this was at all the case with Catherine. It was far from being certain that she was to succeed her husband. She had been crowned indeed, but only in the character of wife to the reigning sovereign, and not as one who was to enjoy the sovereign authority after his death.

Peter in his declaration had only ordered this coronation as a matter of ceremony, and not as conferring a right of governing. He therein only cited the examples of emperors, who had caused their consorts to be crowned, but not of those who had conferred on them the royal authority. In fine, at the very time of Peter's illness, several persons believed that the princess Anna Petrowna would succeed him jointly with her husband the duke of Holstein, or that the czar would nominate his grandson for his successor; therefore, so far from Catherine's being interested in the death of the emperor, she rather seemed concerned in the preservation of his life.

It is undeniable, that Peter had, for a considerable time, been troubled with an abscess in the bladder, and a stoppage of urine. The mineral waters of Olnitz, and some others, which
he

he had been advised to use, had proved of very little service to him, and he had found himself growing sensibly weaker, ever since the beginning of the year 1724. His labours, from which he would not allow himself any respite, encreased his disorder, and hastened his end :

Jan. 1725. his malady became now more and more desperate ; he felt burning pains, which threw him into an almost constant delirium *. Whenever he had a moment's interval, he endeavoured to write, but he could only scrawl a few lines that were wholly unintelligible ; and it was, with the greatest difficulty, that the following words, in the Russian language, could be distinguished. *Let every thing be given to —*

He then called for the princess Anna Petrowna, in order to dictate to her, but by that time she could come to his bed-side, he had lost his speech, and fell into a fit, which lasted sixteen hours. The empress Catherine did not quit his bed-side for three nights together. At length, he breathed his last in her arms, on the 28th Jan. 1725, about four o'clock in the morning.

His body was conveyed into the great hall of the palace, accompanied by all the imperial family, the senate, all the principal personages of state, and an innumerable concourse of people. It was there exposed on a bed of state, and every one was permitted to approach and kiss his hand,

* MS. memoirs of the count de Bassowitz.

till the day of his interment, which was on the 10-21st of March 1725 †.

It

† Catherine paid the last duties to her husband's ashes, with a pomp becoming the greatest monarch that Russia, or perhaps any other country, had ever known; and though there is no court of Europe, where splendor and magnificence is carried to a greater height on these occasions than in that of Russia; yet it may with great truth be said, that she even surpassed herself in the funeral honours paid to her great Peter. She purchased the most precious kinds of marble, and employed some of the ablest sculptors of Italy to erect a mausoleum to this hero, which might, if possible, transmit the remembrance of his great actions to the most distant ages. Not satisfied with this, she caused a medal to be struck, worthy of the ancients. On one side was represented the bust of the late emperor, with these Words, PETER THE GREAT, EMPEROR AND SOVEREIGN OF ALL RUSSIA, BORN MAY XXX. MDCLXXII. On the reverse was the empress sitting, with the crown on her head, the globe and sceptre by her side on a table, and before her were a sphere, sea-charts, plans, mathematical instruments, arms, and a caduceus. At distances, in three different places, were represented an edifice on the sea-coast, with a platform before it, a ship and galley at sea, and the late emperor in the clouds, supported by eternity, looking on the empress, and shewing her with his right hand all the treasures he had left her, with these words, "Behold what I have left you." In the exergue, "deceased 28 January, 1725." Several of these medals she ordered to be struck in gold, to the weight of fifty ducats, and distributed among the foreign ministers, and all the grandes of the empire, as a testimony of her respect and gratitude to the memory of her late husband, to whose generosity she took a pleasure in owning herself indebted for her present elevated station.

Mottley gives us the following, as the czar's epitaph:

Here lieth,
All that could die of a Man immortal,
PETER ALEXEWITZ:
It is almost superfluous to add,
GREAT EMPEROR OF RUSSIA:
A Title!

Which, instead of adding to his Glory,

Became

It has been thought, and it has been asserted; in print, that he had appointed his wife Catherine to succeed him in the empire, by his last will: but the truth is, that he never made any will, or at least none that ever appeared; a most astonishing negligence in so great a legislator, and a proof that he did not think his disorder mortal.

No one knew, at the time of his death, who was to succeed him: he left behind him his grandson Peter, son of the unfortunate Alexis, and his eldest daughter Anne, married to the duke of Holstein. There was a considerable faction in favour of young Peter; but prince Menzikoff, who had never had any other inte-

Became glorious by his wearing it.
 Let Antiquity be dumb,
 Nor boast her ALEXANDER, or her CÆSAR.
 How easy was Victory
 To Leaders, who were followed by Heroes?
 And whose Soldiers felt a noble Disdain
 At being thought less vigilant than their Generals?
 But HE,
 Who in this Place first knew Rest,
 Found Subjects base and inactive,
 Unwarlike, unlearned, untractable,
 Neither covetous of Fame, nor fearless of Danger;
 Creatures, with the Names of Men;
 But with Qualities rather brutal than rational!
 Yet, even these
 He polish'd from their native Ruggedness;
 And, breaking out like a new Sun,
 To illuminate the Minds of a People;
 Dispell'd their Night of hereditary Darkness;
 And, by force of his invincible Influence,
 Taught them to conquer
 Even the Conquerors of Germany.
 Other Princes have commanded victorious Armies;
 This Commander created them.
 Blush, O Art! at a Heroe who owed thee nothing.
 Exult, O Nature! for thine was this Prodigy.

rests

rests than those of the empress Catherine, took care to be before-hand with all parties, and their designs, and accordingly, when the czar was upon the point of giving up the ghost, he caused the empress to remove into another apartment of the palace, where all their friends were assembled ready: he had the royal treasures conveyed into the citadel, and secured the guards in his interest, as likewise the archbishop of Novogorod, and then they held a private council, in presence of the empress Catherine, and one Macarof a secretary, in whom they could confide, at which the duke of Holstein's minister assisted.

At the breaking up of this council, the empress returned to the czar's bed-side, who soon after yielded up the ghost in her arms. As soon as his death was made known, the principal senators and general officers repaired to the palace, where the empress made a speech to them, which prince Menzikoff answered in the name of all present. The empress being withdrawn, they proceeded to consider the proper forms to be observed on the occasion, when Theophanes, archbishop of Pleskow, told the assembly, that, on the eve of the coronation of the empress Catherine, the deceased czar had declared to him, that his sole reason for placing the crown on her head, was that she might wear it after his death; upon which the assembly unanimously signed the proclamation, and Catherine succeeded her husband on the throne the very day of his death.

Peter the Great was regretted by all those whom he had formed, and the descendants of those who had been sticklers for the ancient customs soon began to look on him as their father;
foreign

foreign nations, who have beheld the duration of his establishments, have always expressed the highest admiration for his memory, acknowledging that he was actuated by a more than common prudence and wisdom, and not by a vain desire of doing extraordinary things. All Europe knows, that tho' he was fond of Fame, he coveted it only for noble principles; that tho' he had faults, they never obscured his noble qualities; and that tho', as a man, he was liable to errors, as a monarch, he was always great: he every where forced nature, in his subjects, in himself, by sea and land; but he forced her only to render her more pleasing and noble. The arts, which he transplanted with his own hands into countries, till then in a manner savage, have flourished, and produced fruits which are lasting testimonies of his genius, and will render his memory immortal, since they now appear as natives of those places to which he introduced them. The civil, political, and military government, trade, manufactories, the arts and the sciences, have all been carried on, according to his plan, and by an event not to be paralleled in history: we have seen four women successively ascend the throne after him, who have maintained, in full vigour, all the great designs he accomplished, and have compleated those which he had begun.

The court has undergone some revolutions since his death, but the empire has not suffered one. Its splendor was encreased by Catherine I. It triumphed over the Turks and the Swedes under Anna Petrowna; and under Elizabeth, it conquered Prussia, and a part of Pomerania; and lastly, it has tasted the sweets of peace, and
has

has seen the arts flourish in fulness and security in the reign of Catherine the Second *.

Let the historians of that nation enter into the minutest circumstances of the new creation, the wars and undertakings of Peter the Great : let them rouse the emulation of their countrymen, by celebrating those heroes who assisted this monarch in his labours, in the field, and in the cabinet. It is sufficient for a stranger, a disinterested admirer of merit, to have endeavoured to set to view that great man, who learned of Charles XII. to conquer him, who twice quitted his dominions, in order to govern them the better, who worked with his own hands, in almost all the useful and necessary arts, to set an ex-

* The distinguished regard which this princess shews for the arts and sciences, and her endeavours to attract the great geniuses of all nations to reside in her dominions, by every possible encouragement, affords the strongest presumption, that in her reign we shall see a second age of Lewis XIV. and of this we have had a recent proof in the obliging letter which this august princess wrote with her own hand to M. d'Alembert, and the choice she has since made of M. Duplex, a member of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, when the before-mentioned gentleman thought fit to decline the gracious offer she made him. In which choice she has shewn that it is not birth nor rank, but true merit and virtue which she considers as the essential qualifications in a person to whom she would confide the most sacred of all trusts, that of the education of the grand duke her son. What then may not be expected from the administration of a sovereign so superior to vulgar prejudice ? And especially when assisted by a Woronzoff and a Galitzin, both the professed friends and patrons of literature and the fine arts, which they themselves have not disdained to cultivate, when business and the weighty affairs of state have allowed them a few moments leisure.

ample

ample of instruction to his people, and who was the founder and the father of his empire *.

Princes,

* The following anecdote, communicated by a nobleman of the strictest probity, who was himself an eye-witness of the fact, will give us a clear insight into the character and disposition of Peter I. In one of the many plots which was formed against the life and government of this monarch, there was among the number of those seized, a soldier belonging to his own regiment of guards. Peter being told by his officers that this man had always behaved extremely well, had a curiosity to see him, and learn from his own mouth what might have been his inducement to be concerned in a plot against him, and to this purpose he dressed himself in a plain garb, and so as not to be known by the man again, and went to the prison where he was confined, when after some conversation, "I should be glad to know friend," said Peter, "what were your reasons for being concerned in an attempt against the emperor Your majesty, as I am certain that he never did you any injury, but on the contrary has a regard for you, as being a brave soldier, and one who have always done your duty well in the field; and therefore, if you was to shew the least remorse for what you have done, I am persuaded that the emperor would forgive you; but before I interest myself in your behalf, you must tell me what motives you had to join the mutineers, and repeat to you again, that the emperor is naturally so good and compassionate, that I am certain he will give you your pardon."

"I know little or nothing of the emperor," replied the soldier, "for I never saw him but at a distance; but he caused my father's head to be cut off sometime ago, for being concerned in a former rebellion, and it is the duty of a son to revenge the death of his father; by that of the person who took away his life. If then the emperor is really so good and merciful as you have represented him, counsel him, for his own safety, not to pardon me, for was he to restore me my liberty, the first use I shall make of it would be, to engage in some new attempt against his life, nor should I ever rest till I had accomplished my design; therefore, the securest method he can take will be to order my head to be struck off immediately, without which his own life is not in safety." The czar in vain used all the arguments he could think off, to set before this desperado the folly and injustice of such

Princes, who reign over states long since civilized, may say to themselves, “ If a man, assisted only by his own genius, has been capable of doing such great things in the frozen climes of ancient Scythia, what may not be expected from us, in kingdoms where the accumulated labours of many ages have rendered the way so easy ?”

such sentiments ; he still persisted in what he had declared, and Peter departed, greatly chagrined at the bad success of his visit, and gave orders for the execution of this man with the rest of his accomplices.

ORIGI

ORIGINAL PIECES

Relative to this History, agreeable to the Translations made at their first publication, by Order of Czar Peter I.

S E N T E N C E

Pronounced against the Czarowitz ALEXIS,
June 24th, 1718.

BY virtue of an express ordinance issued by his czarish majesty, and signed by his own hand on the 13th of June, for the judgment of the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz, in relation of his crimes and transgressions against his father and sovereign; the undernamed ministers and senators, estates military and civil, after having assembled several times in the regency-chamber of the senate of Petersburg, and having heard read the original writings and testimonies given against the czarowitz, as also his majesty's admonitory letters to that prince, and his answers to them in his own writing, and other acts relating to the process, and likewise the criminal informations, declarations, and confessions of the czarowitz, partly written with his own hand, and partly delivered by word of mouth to his father and sovereign, before the several persons undernamed, constituted by his present majesty's authority to the effect of the present judgment,
do

do acknowledge and declare, that though, according to the laws of the Russian empire, it belongs not to them, the natural subjects of his czarish majesty's sovereign dominions, to take cognizance of an affair of this nature, which for its importance depends solely on the absolute will of the sovereign, whose power, unlimited by any law, is derived from God alone; yet in submission to his ordinance who hath given them this liberty, and after mature reflection, observing the dictates of their consciences without fear, flattery, or respect of persons, having nothing before their eyes but the divine laws applicable to the present case, the canons and rules of councils, the authority of the holy fathers and doctors of the church, and taking also for their rule the instruction of the archbishops and clergy assembled at Petersburg on this occasion, and conforming themselves to the laws and constitutions of this empire which are agreeable to those of other nations, especially the Greeks and Romans, and other Christian princes; they unanimously agreed and pronounced the czarowitz Alexis Petrowitz *to be worthy of death*, for the aforesaid crimes and capital transgressions against his sovereign and father, he being his czarish majesty's son and subject; and that notwithstanding the promise given by his czarish majesty to the czarowitz, in a letter sent by M. Tolstoy and captain Romanzoff, dated from Spaw the 10th of July 1717, to pardon his elopement if he voluntarily returned, as the czarowitz himself acknowledges with gratitude in his answer to that letter dated from Naples the 4th of October 1717, wherein he returns his thanks to his majesty for the pardon

don he had promised him solely on condition of his speedy and voluntary return; yet he hath forfeited and rendered himself unworthy of that pardon, by renewing and continuing his former transgressions, as is fully set forth in his majesty's manifesto of the 3d of February in this present year, and for not returning voluntarily and of his own accord.

And although his majesty did, upon the arrival of the czarowitz at Moscow, and his humbly confessing in writing his crimes, and asking pardon for them, take pity on him, as is natural for every father to act towards a son, and at the audience held in the great hall of the castle the said third day of February, did promise him full pardon for all his crimes and transgressions, it was only on condition that he would declare without reserve or restriction all his designs, and who were his counsellors and abettors therein; but that if he concealed any one person or thing, that in such case the promised pardon should be null and void, which conditions the czarowitz did at that time accept and receive with all outward tokens of gratitude and obedience, solemnly swearing on the holy cross and the blessed evangelists, and in the presence of all those assembled at that time and for that purpose in the cathedral church, that he would faithfully, and without reserve, declare the whole truth.

His majesty did also the next day confirm to the czarowitz in writing the said promise, in the interrogatories which hereafter follow, and which his majesty caused to be delivered to him, having first written at the beginning what follows :

“ As

“ As you did yesterday receive your pardon,
 “ on condition that you would confess all the
 “ circumstances of your flight, and whatever
 “ relates thereto, but if you concealed any
 “ part thereof, you should answer for it with
 “ your life, and as you have already made some
 “ confessions, it is expected of you for our
 “ more full satisfaction, and your own safety,
 “ to commit the same to writing, in such order
 “ as shall in the course of your examination be
 “ pointed out to you.”

And at the end, under the seventh question, there was again written with his czarish majesty's own hand :

“ Declare to us, and discover whatever hath
 “ any relation to this affair, though it be not
 “ here expressed, and clear yourself as if it
 “ were at confession ; for if you conceal any
 “ thing that shall by any other means be afterwards
 “ discovered, do not impute the consequence to us,
 “ since you have been already told, that in such case the pardon granted
 “ you should be null and void.”

Notwithstanding all which, the answers and confessions of the czarowitz were delivered without any sincerity ; he not only concealing many of his accomplices, but also the capital circumstances relating to his own transgressions, particularly his rebellious design in usurping the throne even in the life-time of his father, flattering himself that the populace would declare in his favour ; all which hath since been fully discovered in the criminal process, after he had refused to make a discovery himself, as hath appeared by the above presents.

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Thus

Thus it hath appeared by the whole conduct of the czarowitz, as well as by the confessions which he both delivered in writing and by word of mouth particularly, that he was not disposed to wait for the succession in the manner in which his father had left it to him after his death, according to equity, and the order of nature which God has established ; but intended to take the crown off the head of his father, while living, and set it upon his own, not only by a civil insurrection, but by the assistance of a foreign force, which he had actually requested.

The czarowitz has hereby rendered himself unworthy of the clemency and pardon promised him by the emperor his father ; and since the laws divine and ecclesiastical, civil and military, condemn to death without mercy, not only those whose attempts against their father and sovereign have been proved by testimonies and writings ; but even such as have been convicted of an intention to rebel, and of having formed a base design to kill their sovereign, and usurp the throne ; what shall we think of a rebellious design, almost unparalleled in history, joined to that of a horrid parricide, against him who was his father in a double capacity ; a father of great lenity and indulgence, who brought up the czarowitz from the cradle with more than paternal care and tenderness ; who earnestly endeavoured to form him for government, and with incredible pains, and indefatigable application, to instruct him in the military art, and qualify him to succeed to so great an empire ? with how much stronger reason does such a design deserve to be punished with death ?”

It

It is therefore with hearts full of affliction, and eyes streaming with tears, that we, as subjects and servants, pronounce this sentence; considering that it belongs not to us to give judgment in a case of so great importance, and especially to pronounce against the son of our most precious sovereign lord the czar. Nevertheless, it being his pleasure that we should act in this capacity, we, by these presents, declare our real opinion, and pronounce this sentence of condemnation with a pure and Christian conscience, as we hope to be able to answer for it at the just, awful, and impartial tribunal of Almighty God.

We submit, however, this sentence, which we now pass, to the sovereign power, the will, and merciful revisal of his czarish majesty, our most gracious sovereign.

The PEACE of NYSTADT.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided
Trinity.

BE it known by these presents, that whereas a bloody, long, and expensive war has arisen and subsisted for several years past, between his late majesty king Charles XII. of glorious memory, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. &c. his successors to the throne of Sweden, the lady Ulrica queen of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. and the kingdom of Sweden, on the one part; and between his czarish majesty Peter the first, emperor of all the Russias, &c. and the empire of Russia, on the other part; the two powers have thought proper to exert their endeavours to find out means to put a period to those troubles, and prevent the farther effusion of so much innocent blood; and it has pleased the Almighty to dispose the hearts of both powers, to appoint a meeting of their ministers plenipotentiary, to treat of, and conclude a firm, sincere, and lasting peace and perpetual friendship between the two powers, their dominions, provinces, countries, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants; namely, Mr. John Liliensted, one of the most honourable privy-council to his majesty the king of Sweden, his kingdom and chancery, and baron Otto Reinhold Stroemfeld, intendant of the copper-mines and fiefs of Dalders, on the part of his said majesty; and on the part of his czarish majesty, count Jacob Daniel Bruce, his general adjutant, president of the colleges of mines and manufactories, and knight

knight of the orders of St. Andrew and the White Eagle, and Mr. Henry John Frederick Osterman, one of his said majesty's privy counsellors in his chancery: which plenipotentiary ministers, being assembled at Nyftadt, and having communicated to each other their respective commissions, and imploring the divine assistance, did enter upon this important and salutary enterprize, and have, by the grace and blessing of God, concluded the following peace between the crown of Sweden and his czarish majesty.

Art I. THERE shall be now and henceforward a perpetual and inviolable peace, sincere union, and indissoluble friendship, between his majesty Frederic the first, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, his successors to the crown and kingdom of Sweden, his dominions, provinces, countries, villages, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, as well within the Roman empire as out of said empire, on the one side; and his czarish majesty Peter the first, emperor of all the Russias, &c. his successors to the throne of Russia, and all his countries, villages, vassals, subjects, and inhabitants, on the other side; in such wise, that, for the future, neither of the two reconciled powers shall commit, or suffer to be committed, any hostility, either privately or publicly, directly or indirectly, nor shall in any wise assist the enemies of each other, on any pretext whatever, nor contract any alliance with them, that may be contrary to this peace, but shall always maintain and preserve a sincere friendship

towards each other, and as much as in them lies support their mutual honour, advantage and safety; as likewise prevent, to the utmost of their power, any injury or vexation with which either of the reconciled parties may be threatened by any other power.

Art. II. It is further mutually agreed upon betwixt the two parties, that a general pardon and act of oblivion for all hostilities committed during the war, either by arms or otherwise, shall be strictly observed, so far as that neither party shall ever henceforth either call to mind, or take vengeance for the same, particularly in regard to persons of state, and subjects who have entered into the service of either of the two parties during the war, and have thereby become enemies to the other, except only the Russian Cossacks, who enlisted in the service of the king of Sweden, and whom his czarish majesty will not consent to have included in the said general pardon, notwithstanding the intercession made for them by the king of Sweden.

Art. III. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease both here and in the grand duchy of Finland in fifteen days, or sooner, if possible, after the regular exchange of the ratifications; and to this intent the conclusion of the peace shall be published without delay. And in case that, after the expiration of the said term, any hostilities should be committed by either party, either by sea or land, in any manner whatsoever, thro' ignorance of the conclusion of the peace, such offence shall by no means prejudice the conclusion of said peace; on the contrary, each shall make a reciprocal exchange of both men
and

and effects that may be taken after the said term.

Art. IV. His majesty the king of Sweden does, by the present treaty, as well for himself as for his successors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, cede to his czarish majesty, and his successors to the Russian empire, in full, irrevocable, and everlasting possession, the provinces which have been taken by his czarish majesty's arms from the crown of Sweden during this war, viz. Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Carelia, as likewise the district of the fiefs of Wybourg, specified hereafter in the article for regulating the limits; the towns and fortresses of Riga, Dunamund, Pernau, Revel, Dorpt, Nerva, Wybourg, Kexholm, and the other towns, fortresses, harbours, countries, districts, rivers and coasts belonging to the provinces; as likewise the islands of Oesel, Dagoe, Moen, and all the other islands from the frontiers of Courland, towards the coasts of Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, and on the east-side of Revel, and in the road of Wybourg, towards the south-east, with all the present inhabitants of those islands, and of the aforesaid provinces, towns, and countries; and in general, all their appurtenances, dependencies, prerogatives, rights, and advantages, without exception, in like manner as the crown of Sweden possessed them.

To which purpose, his majesty the king of Sweden renounces for ever in the most solemn manner, as well for his own part, as for his successors, and for the whole kingdom of Sweden, all pretensions which they have hitherto had, or could have to the said provinces, islands, countries and towns; and all the inhabitants

thereof shall, by virtue of these presents, be discharged from the oath of allegiance, which they have taken to the crown of Sweden, in such wise as that his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, shall never hereafter either claim or demand the same, on any pretence whatsoever; but, on the contrary, they shall be and remain incorporated for ever into the empire of Russia. Moreover, his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, promise by these presents to assist and support from henceforth his czarish majesty, and his successors to the empire of Russia, in the peaceable possession of the said provinces, islands, countries, and towns; and that they will find out and deliver up to the persons authorized by his czarish majesty for that purpose, all the records and papers principally belonging to those places, which have been taken away and carried into Sweden during the war.

Art. V. His czarish majesty, in return, promises to evacuate and restore to his Swedish majesty, and the kingdom of Sweden, within the space of four weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or sooner if possible, the grand duchy of Finland, except only that part thereof which has been reserved by the following regulation of the limits which shall belong to his czarish majesty, so that his said czarish majesty, and his successors, never shall have or bring the least claim or demand on the said duchy, on any pretence whatever. His czarish majesty further declares and promises, that certain and prompt payment of two millions of crowns shall be made without any discount to the deputies of the king of Sweden, on condition that they produce and give sufficient receipts, as
agreed

agreed upon; and the said payment shall be made in such coin as shall be agreed upon by a separate article, which shall be of equal force as if inserted in the body of this treaty.

Art. VI. His majesty the king of Sweden does farther reserve to himself, in regard to trade, the liberty of buying corn yearly at Riga, Revel, and Arensbourg, to the amount of fifty thousand rubles, which corn shall be transported from thence into Sweden, without paying duty or any other taxes, on producing a certificate, shewing that such corn has been purchased for the use of his Swedish majesty, or by his subjects, charged with the care of making this purchase by his said majesty, and such right shall not be subject to, or depend on any exigency, wherein his czarish majesty may find it necessary, either on account of a bad harvest, or some other important reason, to prohibit in general the exportation of corn to any other nation.

Art. VII. His czarish majesty does also promise, in the most solemn manner, that he will in no wise interfere with the private affairs of the kingdom of Sweden, nor with the form of government, which has been regulated and established by the oath of allegiance and unanimous consent of the states of the said kingdom; neither will he assist therein any person whatever, in any manner, directly or indirectly; but, on the contrary, will endeavour to hinder and prevent any disturbance happening, provided his czarish majesty has timely notice of the same, who will on all such occasions act as a sincere friend and good neighbour to the crown of Sweden.

Art. VIII. And as they mutually intended to establish a firm, sincere, and lasting peace, to

which purpose it is very necessary to regulate the limits so, that neither of the parties can harbour any jealousy, but that each shall peaceably possess whatever has been surrendered to him by this treaty of peace, they have thought proper to declare that the two empires shall from henceforth and for ever have the following limits, beginning on the northern coast of the Bothnick gulf, near Wickolax, from whence they shall extend to within half a league of the sea-coast inland, and from the distance of half a league from the sea as far as opposite to Willayoki, and from thence further inland; so that from the sea-side, and opposite to Rohel, there shall be a distance of about three-quarters of a league, in a direct line, to the road which leads from Wibourg to Lapstrand, at three leagues distance from Wibourg, and which proceeds the same distance of three leagues towards the north by Wibourg, in a direct line to the former limits between Russia and Sweden, even before the reduction of the district of Kexho'm, under the government of the king of Sweden. Those ancient limits extend eight leagues towards the north, from thence they run in a direct line through the district of Kexholm, to the place where the harbour of Porogerai, which begins near the town of Kudamagube, joins to the ancient limits between Russia and Sweden, so that his majesty the king and kingdom of Sweden, shall henceforth possess all that part lying west and north beyond the above specified limits, and his czarish majesty and the empire of Russia all that part which is situated east and south of the said limits. And as his czarish majesty surrenders from henceforth to his
Swedish

Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden, a part of the district of Kexholm, which belonged heretofore to the empire of Russia, he promises, in the most solemn manner, in regard to himself and successors to the throne of Russia, that he never will make any future claim to this said district of Kexholm, on any account whatever; but the said district shall hereafter be and remain incorporated into the kingdom of Sweden. As to the limits in the country of Lamparque, they shall remain on the same footing as they were before the beginning of this war between the two empires. It is further agreed upon, that commissaries shall be appointed by each party, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, to regulate the limits as aforesaid.

Art. IX. His czarish majesty further promises to maintain all the inhabitants of the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Oesel, as well nobles as plebeians, and the towns, magistrates, companies, and trades, in the full enjoyment of the same privileges, customs, and prerogatives which they have enjoyed under the dominion of his Swedish majesty.

Art. X. There shall not hereafter be any violence offered to the consciences of the inhabitants of the ceded countries; on the contrary, his czarish majesty engages on his side to preserve and maintain the evangelical (Lutheran) religion on the same footing as under the Swedish government, provided there is likewise a free liberty of conscience allowed to those of the Greek religion.

Art. XI. In regard to the reductions and liquidations made in the reign of the late king of Sweden, in Livonia, Esthonia, and
K 6 Oesel,

Oesel, to the great injury of the subjects and inhabitants of those countries, which, conformable to the justice of the affair in question, obliged his late majesty, the king of Sweden, of glorious memory, to promise, by an ordinance (which was published the 13th day of April, 1700, that if any one of his subjects could fairly prove, that the goods which had been confiscated were their property, justice should be done them, whereby several subjects of the said countries have had such their confiscated effects restored to them), his czarish majesty engages and promises, that justice shall be done to every person, whether residing or not, who has a just claim or pretension to any lands in Livonia, Esthonia, or the province of Oesel, and can make full proof thereof, and that such person shall be re-instituted in the possession of his lands and effects.

Art. XII. There shall likewise be immediate restitution made, conformable to the general amnesty, regulated and agreed by the second article, to such of the inhabitants of Livonia, Esthonia, and the island of Oesel, who may during this war have joined the king of Sweden, together with all their effects, lands, and houses, which have been confiscated and given to others; as well in the towns of these provinces, as in those of Nerva and Wiburg, notwithstanding they may have passed during the said war by inheritance or otherwise into other hands, without any exception or restraint, even though the proprietors should be actually in Sweden, either as prisoners or otherwise; and such restitution shall take place so soon as each person is re-naturalized by his respective government, and produces his documents relating to his right;
on

on the other hand, these proprietors shall by no means lay claim to, or pretend to any part of, the revenues, which may have been received by those who were in possession in consequence of the confiscation, nor to any other compensation for their losses in the war or otherwise. And all persons, who are thus put in repossession of their effects and lands, should be obliged to do homage to his czarish majesty, their present sovereign, and farther to behave themselves as faithful vassals and subjects; and when they have taken the usual oath of allegiance, they shall be at liberty to leave their own country to go and live in any other, which is in alliance and friendship with the Russian empire, as also to enter into the service of neutral powers, or to continue therein if already engaged, as they shall think proper. On the other hand, in regard to those, who do not chuse to do homage to his czarish majesty, they shall be allowed the space of three years from the publication of the peace, to sell or dispose of their effects, lands, and all belonging to them, to the best advantage, without paying any more than is paid by every other person, agreeably to the laws and statutes of the country. And if hereafter it should happen that an inheritance should devolve to any person according to the laws of the country, and that such person shall not as yet have taken the oath of allegiance to his czarish majesty, he shall in such case be obliged to take the same at the time of entering on the possession of his inheritance, otherwise to sell off all his effects in the space of one year.

Also those who have advanced money on lands in Livonia, Esthonia, and the island of Oesel.

Oesel, and have lawful security for the same, shall enjoy their mortgages peaceably, until both capital and interest are discharged; on the other hand, the mortgagees shall not claim any interests, which expired during the war, and which have not been demanded or paid; but those who in either of these cases have the administration of the said effects, shall be obliged to do homage to his czarish majesty. This likewise extends to all those who remain in his czarish majesty's dominions, and who shall have the same liberty to dispose of their effects in Sweden, and in those countries which have been surrendered to that crown by this peace. Moreover, the subjects of each of the reconciled powers shall be mutually supported in all their lawful claims and demands, whether on the publick, or on individuals within the dominions of either of the two powers, and immediate justice shall be done them, so that every person may be reinstated in the possession of what justly belongs to him.

Art. XIII. All contributions in money shall, from the signing of this treaty, cease in the grand duchy of Finland, which his czarish majesty by the fifth article of this treaty cedes to his Swedish majesty and the kingdom of Sweden: on the other hand, the duchy of Finland shall furnish his czarish majesty's troops with the necessary provisions and forage gratis, until they shall have entirely evacuated the said duchy, on the same footing as has been practised heretofore; and his czarish majesty shall prohibit and forbid, under the severest penalties, the dislodging any ministers or peasants of the Finnish nation, contrary to their inclinations, or that the least injury

jury be done to them. In consideration of which, and as it will be permitted his czarish majesty, upon evacuating the said counties and town, to take with him his great and small cannon, with their carriages and other appurtenances, and the magazines and other warlike stores which he shall think fit. The inhabitants shall furnish a sufficient number of horses and waggons as far as the frontiers; and also, if the whole of this cannot be executed according to the stipulated terms, and that any part of such artillery, &c. is necessitated to be left behind, then, and in such cases, that which is so left shall be properly taken care of, and afterwards delivered to his czarish majesty's deputies, whenever it shall be agreeable to them, and likewise be transported to the frontiers in manner as above. If his czarish majesty's troops shall have found and sent out of the country any deeds or papers belonging to the grand duchy of Finland, strict search shall be made for the same, and all of them that can be found shall be faithfully restored to deputies of his Swedish majesty.

Art. XIV. All the prisoners on each side, of whatsoever nation, rank, and condition, shall be set at liberty immediately after the ratification of this treaty, without any ransom; at the same time every prisoner shall either pay or give sufficient security for the payment of all debts by them contracted. The prisoners on each side shall be furnished with the necessary horses and waggons gratis during the time allotted for their return home, in proportion to the distance from the frontiers. In regard to such prisoners who shall have

have sided with one or the other party, or who shall chuse to settle in the dominions of either of the two powers, they shall have full liberty so to do without restriction: and this liberty shall likewise extend to all those who have been compelled to serve either party during the war, who may in like manner remain where they are, or return home; except such who have voluntarily embraced the Greek religion, in compliance to his czarish majesty: for which purpose each party shall order that the edicts be published and made known in their respective dominions.

Art. XV. His majesty the king, and the republic of Poland, as allies to his czarish majesty, are expressly comprehended in this treaty of peace, and have equal right thereto, as if the treaty of peace between them and the crown of Sweden had been inserted here at full length; to which purpose all hostilities whatsoever shall cease in general throughout all the kingdoms, countries, and patrimonies belonging to the two reconciled parties, whether situated within or out of the Roman empire, and there shall be a solid and lasting peace established between the two aforesaid powers. And as no plenipotentiary on the part of his Polish majesty and the republic of Poland has assisted at this treaty of peace, held at Nyftadt, and that consequently they could not at one and the same time renew the peace by a solemn treaty between his majesty the king of Poland and the crown of Sweden; his majesty the king of Sweden does therefore engage and promise, that he will send plenipotentiaries to open the conferences, so soon as a place shall be appointed for the said meeting,

ing, in order to conclude, through the mediation of his czarish majesty, a lasting peace between the two crowns, provided nothing is therein contained which may be prejudicial to this treaty of perpetual peace made with his czarish majesty.

Art. XVI. A free trade shall be regulated and established as soon as possible, which shall subsist both by sea and land between the two powers, their dominions, subjects, and inhabitants, by means of a separate treaty on this head, to the good and advantage of their respective dominions; and in the mean time the subjects of Russia and Sweden shall have leave to trade freely in the empire of Russia and kingdom of Sweden, so soon as the treaty of peace is ratified, after paying the usual duties on the several kinds of merchandise; so that the subjects of Russia and Sweden shall reciprocally enjoy the same privileges and prerogatives as are enjoyed by the closest friends of either of the said states.

Art. XVII. Restitution shall be made on both sides, after the ratification of the peace, not only of the magazines which were before the commencement of the war established in certain trading towns belonging to the two powers, but also liberty shall be reciprocally granted to the subjects of his czarish majesty and the king of Sweden to establish magazines in the towns, harbours, and others places subject to both or either of the said powers.

Art. XVIII. If any Swedish ships of war or merchant vessels shall have the misfortune to be wrecked, or cast away by stress of weather, or any other accident, on the coasts and harbours of
Russia,

Russia, his czarish majesty's subjects shall be obliged to give them all aid and assistance in their power to save their rigging and effects, and faithfully to restore whatever may be drove on shore, if demanded, provided they are properly rewarded. And the subjects of his majesty the king of Sweden shall do the same in regard to such Russian ships and effects as may have the misfortune to be wrecked or otherwise lost on the coasts of Sweden: for which purpose, and to prevent all ill treatment, robbing, and plundering, which commonly happens on such melancholy occasions, his czarish majesty and the king of Sweden will cause a most rigorous prohibition to be issued, and all who shall be found transgressing in this point shall be punished on the spot.

Art. XIX. And to prevent all possible cause or occasion of misunderstanding between the two parties, in relation to sea-affairs, they have concluded and determined, that any Swedish ships of war, of whatever number or size, that shall hereafter pass by any of his czarish majesty's forts or castles, shall salute the same with their cannon, which compliment shall be directly returned in the same manner by the Russian fort or castle; and, *vice versa*, any Russian ships of war, of whatever number or size, that shall hereafter pass by any fort or castle belonging to his Swedish majesty, shall salute the same with a discharge of their cannon, which compliment shall be instantly returned in the same manner by the Swedish fort; and in case any one or more Swedish and Russian ships shall meet at sea, or in an harbour or elsewhere, they shall salute each other with a common discharge, as is usually practised on
such

such occasions between the ships of Sweden and Denmark.

Art. XX. It is mutually agreed between the two powers, no longer to defray the expences of the ministers of the two powers, as has been done hitherto ; but their respective ministers, plenipotentiaries, and envoys, shall hereafter defray their own expences and those of their own attendants, as well on their journey, as during their stay, and back to their respective place of residence. On the other hand, either of the two parties, on receiving timely notice of the arrival of an envoy, shall order that their subjects give them all the assistance that may be necessary to escort them safe on their journey.

Art. XXI. His majesty the king of Sweden does on his part comprehend his majesty the king of Great Britain in this treaty of peace, reserving only the differences subsisting between his czarish and his Britannick majesties, which they shall immediately endeavour to terminate in a friendly manner ; and such other powers, who shall be named by the two reconciled parties within the space of three months, shall likewise be included in this treaty of peace.

Art. XXII. In case any misunderstanding shall hereafter arise between the states and subjects of Sweden and Russia, it shall by no means prejudice this treaty of perpetual peace, which shall nevertheless always be and remain in full force agreeable to its intent, and commissaries shall without delay be appointed on each side to enquire into and adjust all disputes.

Art. XXIII. All those who have been guilty of high treason, murder, theft, and other crimes,
and.

and those who deserted from Sweden to Russia, and from Russia to Sweden, either singly or with their wives and children, shall be immediately sent back, provided the complaining party of the country from whence they made their escape, shall think fit to recall them, let them be of what nation soever, and in the same condition as they were at their arrival, together with their wives and children, as likewise with all they had stolen, plundered, or taken away with them in their flight.

Art. XXIV. The exchange of the ratifications of this treaty of peace, shall be reciprocally made at Nyfadt, within the space of three weeks after the day of signing the same, or sooner if possible. In witness whereof, two copies of this treaty, exactly corresponding with each other have been drawn up and confirmed by the plenipotentiary ministers on each side, in virtue of the authority they have received from their respective sovereigns; which copies they have signed with their own hands, and sealed with their own seals. Done at Nyfadt, this 30th day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1721, O. S.

Jean Liliensted.

Otto Reinhold Stroemfeld.

Jacob Daniel Bruce.

Henry John Frederick Osterman.

Ordi-

Ordinance of the EMPEROR PETER I.

For the Crowning of the Empress Catherine.

WE Peter the First, emperor, and autocrat of all the Russias, &c. to all our officers, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and all others of the Russian nation, our faithful subjects.

No one can be ignorant that it has been a constant and invariable custom among the monarchs of all Christian states, to cause their consorts to be crowned, and that the same is at present practised, and hath frequently been in former times by those emperors who professed the holy faith of the Greek church; to wit, by the emperor Basilides, who caused his wife Zenobia to be crowned; the emperor Justinian, his wife Lucipina; the emperor Heraclius, his wife Martina; the emperor Leo the Philosopher, his wife Mary; and many others, who have in like manner placed the imperial crown on the head of their consorts, and whom it would be too tedious here to enumerate.

It is also well known to every one how much we have exposed our person, and faced the greatest dangers, for the good of our country during the one and twenty years course of the late war, which we have by the assistance of God terminated in so honourable and advantageous a manner, that Russia hath never beheld such a peace, not ever acquired so great glory as in the late war. Now the empress Catherine, our dearly beloved wife, having greatly comforted and as-

fisted

sisted us during the said war, as also in several other our expeditions, wherein she voluntarily and chearfully accompanied us, assisting us with her counsel and advice in every exigence, notwithstanding the weakness of her sex, particularly in the battle against the Turks on the banks of the river Pruth, wherein our army was reduced to 20,000 men, while that of the Turks amounted to 270,000, and on which desperate occasion she signalized herself in a particular manner, by a courage and presence of mind superior to her sex, which is well known to all our army, and to the whole Russian empire: Therefore, for these reasons, and in virtue of the power which God has given us, we have resolved to honour our said consort Catherine with the imperial crown, as a reward for her painful services; and we propose, God willing, that this ceremony shall be performed the ensuing winter at Moscow. And we do hereby give notice of this our resolution to all our faithful subjects, in favour of whom our imperial affection is unalterable.

APPEN-



APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

A summary Account of the Climate, Soil, and Produce; Population, Government, Laws, Religion, Manners, and Customs; Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, Commerce, &c. of RUSSIA; with a Description of the City of PETERSBURGH, the Capital of the Empire.



The Translator to the Reader.

M. De Voltaire having, in the foregoing sheets, confined himself chiefly to the events of the reign of Peter the Great; the Translator imagines that an account of the government, laws, manners, &c. of the empire of Russia, will not be unacceptable to such of his readers, who may not have had an opportunity of being acquainted therewith, and that it will at the same time throw a light upon some parts of the foregoing history, which are but slightly sketched out. He has likewise annexed a description of the city of Petersburgh, the capital of the empire; the whole collected from the best authorities, ancient and modern.

C H A P. I.

Of the Climate, Soil, and Produce of
R U S S I A

IN a country of such vast extent as the Russian empire, at one extremity of which it is noon, when it is almost midnight at the other, the climate and soil cannot but differ greatly.

In the parts which lie beyond the 60th degree of latitude, the cold is excessively intense, the winter nine months long, the days extremely short during that season, the country full of mountains, rocks, and morasses, and very thinly inhabited. Corn never ripens in those regions, unless it be a little barley near Archangel, and about Jakutskoi; nor are any garden-fruits, or even trees, produced there.

From the 60th to the 57th degree of latitude, the air is somewhat milder and better, the country is less thinly inhabited, and yields, besides various kinds of wild fruits, horned-cattle, goats, sheep, horses, plenty of fish, and some corn, and garden-productions.

The countries between the 57th and 54th degrees of latitude, where the air is wholesome and less inclement, produce all sorts, of fruits, plenty of corn, and abound in venison, wild-fowl, cattle, and honey; and in short, the inhabitants, who are much more numerous here than farther north, want nothing but wine; for which they make up with mead and brandy.

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From

From the 54th degree of latitude to the most southern bounderies of the empire, the climate varies from temperate to very hot; the whole extent of country is flat and even; it has few morasses; is watered by several rivers, which abound with fish; and has sufficient plenty of game, though it be not over-run with woods. The provinces in these parts are the most inhabited of any in the Russian empire, and naturally so fertile, that very little culture would render them extremely rich and flourishing; but that the natives are deterred from, partly by the overflowings of the Wolga, which lays the country on both sides of it under water in the spring, for many miles together, towards Astracan; and still more by the ravages and inroads of the neighbouring Tartars.

In the middle and northern parts of the Russian empire the days are extremely short in winter, which lasts near three-quarters of the year, and the cold is so excessively severe, that spittle has been known to freeze before it reached the ground, and water as it dropped; birds have fallen down dead in the midst of their flight; travellers have been frozen to death upon their horses, and come into inns, sitting upright, with bridle and whip in their hands, as if alive; and numbers have lost their nose, ears, feet, or hands, which have absolutely dropped off through the intense rigour of the weather, though their bodies have been well covered with furs. Summer succeeds the winter very suddenly, and, in general, with as a great a degree of heat, as the other season had of cold: so that the Russian peasant sows his grain, sees it spring up, and reaps his crop, even though it be wheat, in less
than

than three months. The nights are very short, and the twilight is remarkably luminous in this season.

The middle provinces of Russia produce much more wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, buckwheat, and a grain called psnytha, which tastes like rice, than is consumed in them, and they accordingly supply therewith most of the other provinces, in exchange for their native commodities; besides which, great quantities of barley and rye have frequently been exported to Holland. Apples, pears, plumbs, cherries, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and several other kinds of fruits, with all manner of pulse, pot-herbs, asparagus, onions, garlick, roots, cucumbers, melons, &c. grow in plenty, and come to perfection in different parts of the Russian dominions, even so far north as Moscow. The south part of Kamtschatka is remarkable for a plant about two feet and a half high, and of the thickness of one's finger. The inhabitants call it ahahatka. When cleaned, peeled, and dried in the sun, it becomes as white as snow; and, when pounded small, tastes like sugar.

The cedar grows naturally in many parts of Siberia, but much smaller than on mount Libanus and in the other parts of South Asia.

Olearius declares, that the famous vegetable lamb, or boranetz, as it is called in the Russian language, does really grow near Samara, between the Wolga and the Don; that it is of the gourd kind, shaped exactly like a lamb, and fastened to the ground by a stalk which proceeds as it were from its navel: when it is ripe, the stalk withers, and the fruit is covered

with a soft frizzling wool, not unlike that of a lamb newly weaned, or taken out of the sheep's belly.

In all probability those who have believed it have been led into a mistake by the *merluschka-outschinka*, or Astracan lambskins, of which there are three sorts, all of them the skins of flinks, or unborn lambs, imported into Russia, from Bukaria, Persia, and the country of the Calmucks.

The argali, a sort of wild goats in Siberia, cannot feed on flat ground, like other goats and sheep; but with their heads erect, at the bottom of mountains, by reason of the size and weight of their horns. It has been remarked of the hares in Russia and Livonia, that they change their colour in winter, and become white. Olearius imputes this to external cold, and says, he has known the same thing happen to hares, even in summer, when they have been kept some time in a cave. The sable hides itself, as not easily to be discovered, at a certain time of the winter, when it rolls itself up in a ball, and sleeps for a while so sound, as to bear pulling about, without waking. These creatures live chiefly upon mice, cedar kernels, red-berries, and fish; and it is observed of them, that their fur is most beautiful when they are put to the greatest exercise for subsistence; and that the finest sable skins have generally the worst tails, and the worst skins on the contrary, the finest tails. Bears and wolves are not only very numerous, but do prodigious mischief in most parts of these countries.

Snakes are deemed sacred among the Calmucks, who never kill any, but make them so familiar,

familiar, that they will creep into bed to them; nor has it ever been heard among them, that they have done any hurt to man or beast.

In Russia, bees are not kept in hives near houses, but in the woods, upon the highest and straightest firs, the branches of which are cut off almost up to the bees nest, near the top of the tree; and a scaffold, like the round-top of a mast, is made round the tree, that neither men nor bears can easily climb up. Formerly the peasants of Dorpat made an agreement with the people of Plescow, to have their bees in the woods, under the jurisdiction of these last, for which every peasant was to pay yearly six whites (a Livonian coin); and when these woods were afterwards destroyed, John Basilowitz still insisted on payment of the sum stipulated, as a right due to him.

There are three sorts of eagles in Siberia; the largest of which, about the size of our turkey-cock, is quite black, except the skin round the nostrils and legs, which is of a pale yellow. They live chiefly on high mountains, and in thick woods. The smallest sort, which the Tartars use as they do falcons, for hawking, a diversion they are extremely fond of, is the *Aquila Mævia*. In the province of Dauria, and near the river Amur, there are great numbers of milk white falcons, many of which are sent yearly to China. Partridges are found only in the southern parts of Siberia, about Crasnoyahr and Abakan; but almost all Russia abounds in ducks, and various kinds of wild-fowl, as we have already observed. There is a species of owls in Siberia, as white as snow, and as large as hen-turkies.

The beluja, of which frequent mention has been already made, is perhaps the largest eatable fish in the world. It is caught chiefly in the rivers that flow into the Caspian and Baltic seas. Strahlenberg says, he saw one of them fifty-six feet long, and near eighteen feet thick. The best isinglass is made of the inner-skin of the gut of this fish, and cavier of its roe. The Russian sturgeon is sometimes seven feet long; its flesh is white, intermixed with yellow fat; and cavier, carluk, and weliga, are made out of this fish; but greatly inferior to what is prepared from the beluja. Considerable quantities of pickled sturgeon are exported every year. It is confidently affirmed, that not an eel is to be seen in all the numerous waters of Siberia; and the same is said of the Danube, and all the rivers that run into it: nor are there, according to Olearius, any carps in Muscovy or Livonia; though they abound in Astracan; where, however, they are not esteemed, their flesh being very coarse. The twisted horn of the sword-fish, such as we often see in the shops of druggists, are sometimes found near the mouth of the river Lena, and along the coast of Kamtschatka.

The iron mines of Russia, and especially those in Ugoria and Siberia, the metal of which is best and toughest, have afforded constant employment to many artificers, ever since the beginning of this century, when they were first opened, and quantities of their wrought works are exported to various parts of Europe. Strahlenberg says, that 20,000 muskets and 10,000 pair of pistols are made annually near the city of Tula; and 12,000 muskets and
6000

6000 pair of pistols, in the same space of time, at the sawods or fabrics of Petrowka, Ustrowka, and Alexi, in Carelia, besides anchors and other iron works, for the use of the admiralty, to which they belong; and that one cannon a-day is cast at Petrowka. The iron-works in Siberia are still more numerous than those in Russia.

Amethysts, and the brown-red sort of the hæmatites, or blood-stone, are found in the mountains of Catharinenberg, and in places near the river Isset, in Siberia; and near the city of Argunkoi, in the province of Dauria in the same country, there is a considerable mountain, which affords jasper, partly of a deep, and partly of a pale green colour, so hard, that no steel tool will touch it; but it bears as high a polish as a looking-glass. Peter I. once thought of having some columns made of this stone.

In the kingdom of Casan, a pure solid sulphur is dug out of the rocks of talc or marienglas, in which it is enveloped. It is as clear as amber; and some lumps of it weigh upwards of fifty pounds. The finest parts of it are put to physical uses, and the others serve in the composition of gunpowder.

A lake near the river Isset in Siberia yields, like several other lakes in the Russian empire, great quantities of salt; one-third of which, in this, is saltpetre; but for want of wood near enough at hand, the expence of boiling and separating the saltpetre from the salt, is greater than the price of that commodity will bear. Thirty thousand puds of saltpetre are delivered annually into the imperial store-houses from Astracan. Between Tula and Kaluga, near a place called Revolski, in Russia, there is an

alum mine; and a lake in Siberia, though its water is clear and fresh, leaves an alummy salt on its shores, especially in summer. Asphalt, a bituminous inflammable matter, which we take to be what some Russian writers call earth-oil, is found in several parts of Siberia, and particularly near the river Irtysh.

The author of the *Verändertes Rußland* is wrong in saying, that the *kamina massa*, or stone-butter, as we should translate it, exudes from rocks in the same condition it is sold; for it is in fact a vitriolic water, which forces its way through mountains of slate and clay, and others which contain a ferrugineous sandy ore, and is boiled, or rather evaporated in an oven, in well luted earthen pots, till its subsiding particles are brought to the consistence of a jelly, which is afterwards taken out, and dried in the air. The Russians make use of this drug to dye leather black; but it is too corrosive for linen.

Some pieces of amber have been found between the rivers Chatanga and Yanesei, towards the Frozen Ocean; and others in the sandy desert, between Mungalia and China.

Russia has its mineral waters in several places. The emperor Peter I. in the latter part of his life, used to go every year to those called *Honseokertskie Wody*, about 165 wersts from Olonets, and 50 from the Petrowian sawods, and thought he received benefit from them.

Manna is found upon a certain grass, and in particular places of the large deserts in the country of the Calmucks and Bukarians, who call it *sherkest*, and bring great quantities of it to Tobolsk. It must be gathered before the sun shines upon it, for otherwise it melts away.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Population, Government, Laws, Religion,
Manners, and Customs.

THOUGH Russia contains as great a number of subjects as any one christian state, it is far from being peopled in proportion to its extent *.

Many, or perhaps most of the great families now in Russia, are of foreign extraction; as the Galitzins, Apraxins, Nareskins, &c. from Poland; the Czerkaskis from Tartary †; the Miletinskis from Mingrelia and Georgia; with numbers of others; and even the czars have prided themselves in a foreign extraction ‡.

The Russians, in point of rank, are divided into three general classes; the nobility, called kneas; the gentry, called duornins; and the peasants.

The kneas, or dukes, were anciently heads of the little governments into which this country was divided.

The duornins are country gentlemen, most of whom, and particularly the Sunbojarskoys, or

* See the foregoing history, Part I. page 37.

† Prince Sunsalei Jacolowitz Zercaskoi, from the Circassian Cabarda, came to the czar Feoder Iwanowitz, and assisted him in conquering the country of Circassia, and the city of Terki. It is the chief Circassian family, and almost the richest in Russia, having near 70,000 peasants.

‡ Fletcher, c. v. mentions particularly of the czar Iwan Wafilowitz, or, as we commonly call him John Basilowitz of the house of Beala, that he declared he was no Russian, but of Hungarian extraction.

sons of bojars, who are ranked in this class, hold their lands by knight service, to appear in war on horseback.

Such of the duornins as live on their estates, and are far from the capital, give themselves great airs; though they are, on the other hand, as humble and submissive to their chief nobility and officers: for in this country, as lord Whitworth observes, every one has his share of slavery and worship; except

The peasants, who are perfect slaves, absolutely subject to the arbitrary power of their lords, who may treat them as they please, provided they do not kill them, and liable to be transferred, with goods and chattels, from one master to another. A couple of earthen pots, a wooden platter, a spoon, and a knife, are all their household goods; their drink is water; their food oatmeal, bread, salt, mushrooms, and roots; on great days, a little fish, or milk, if it be not a fast; but flesh very rarely. Professor Busching says, that the Russian peasants are so far from being dull or stupid, as many have thought them, that they are remarkably acute, and do not want for natural parts.

The government of Russia is absolute in the last degree, not restricted by any law or custom, but depending solely on the will of the sovereign, by which the lives and fortunes of all the subjects of that country are decided. However, such as are employed in the state have their share of arbitrary power, their proceedings being without appeal, all in the czar's name, which they often abuse to satisfy their avarice, revenge, or other guilty passions. For right between private men they have precedents and written laws,
par-

particularly a code called Subornoe Ulaschenie, 'an uniform and universal law,' drawn up by order of Alexis Michaelowitz, and enlarged by new edicts of the succeeding czars *. The process, especially in criminal matters, is short enough, when their justice is proof against the temptation of a bribe; but that it seldom is: and their punishments are very severe; though not quite so rigorous as formerly. The batto-

* Heretofore, in disputes between private persons, where the parties were not agreed as to the matter of fact, and had no evidence on either side, the judge asked the plaintiff, whether he would take his oath, that the matter was as he alledged, or refer it to the defendant's oath? He who offered to take his oath, was, once a week, for three weeks running, brought before the judge, who, every time, represented to him the importance of an oath, and the sin he would be guilty of if he swore falsely. If, after this, he still persisted in his readiness to take his oath, though he swore nothing but the truth, the people looked upon him as an infamous person, would spit in his face, and turn him out of church, into which he was never received afterwards, and much less admitted to the communion, unless it were at the point of death. Now they do not proceed with so much rigour, but only bring him who is to take his oath before a picture of one of their saints, where he is asked whether he will swear upon the salvation of his soul? If he persists, they give him a little crucifix to kiss, and afterwards the picture of the saint, which is taken down from the wall for that purpose. Though the oath be indisputably true, the person who took it is not admitted to the communion for three years; and though he be not treated as an infamous person, yet those of any rank will not easily suffer him in their company. A perjured person is most severely whipped, and then banished. The Russians therefore endeavoured, as much as possible, to avoid taking an oath; though upon any trivial occasion, especially in their dealings, they make no scruple of swearing at every word, and have incessantly in their mouths, their Po Chrestum, 'by Christ,' making the sign of the cross at the same time. They permit strangers to take their oaths, according to the rules of their several religions.

gen, katze, and knute, are now deemed infamous*.

The

* They were not so formerly, according to Olcarius; for not only those who had passed through the executioner's hands were admitted into the best companies, but likewise the executioner himself, whose profession was accounted so honourable, that sometimes even merchants quitted theirs, to serve the magistrate at executions, and would buy that employment as a lucrative post, the profits of which arose partly from their stipend, partly from what was extorted from the criminal under pretence of gentle treatment, but most of all from a clandestine sale of brandy and spirits to the prisoners. The Russians have now learnt another way of thinking from their more civilized neighbours: the executioner is looked upon as infamous, and is no longer permitted to sell his office; but it must continue in his family: on failure of which the butchers are obliged to chuse one out of their body.

The ordinary punishments in Russia are slitting the nostrils, whipping, and the battogen, which is inflicted thus. He who is to receive this chastisement, is stripped to his shirt, and laid upon the ground on his belly; when two men, sitting crosswise upon him, one upon his neck, and the other upon his feet, beat him on the back with little wands or switches, during the time ordered by the judge. Slitting the nostrils used to be inflicted on those who had taken tobacco in snuff, contrary to an old idle prohibition.

Whipping, or the knute, as it is given in Russia, is one of the most barbarous punishments ever heard of. Olcarius relates thus, the manner of its being executed, in his presence, on eight men and one woman, for selling brandy and tobacco without licence. The executioner's man, after stripping them down to the waist, took them up one after another, upon his back, with their feet tied together with a cord, which passed between his legs, and was held by another servant of the executioner, so fast that they were not able to stir. The executioner stood three paces off, with a bull's pizzle, having fastened to the end of it three straps or thongs of an elk's skin, not tanned, and consequently exceeding sharp, with which, springing forward whenever he struck, he laid on their backs with all his strength, so that the blood gushed out at every blow. The men had 25 or 26 lashes each, till an officer, who had in writing what number of stripes they were to receive, cried, *Polno*, 'enough.' The woman had only 16, but fainted away. After their backs were thus shockingly mangled, they were all tied together by the

The governors of provinces are, generally, appointed for three years, in which time, if their

the arms two and two, those who had sold tobacco having a little horn full of it, and those who had sold brandy, a little bottle about their necks, and whipped through the city, for about half a league, after which they were brought back to the place of their first punishment, and there dismissed. This is so cruel a punishment, that many die of it. Some, after having undergone this dreadful scourging, wrapt themselves up in the skin of a sheep newly killed. But even this horrid flagellation is, according to M. de la Motraye, only what it called the moderate knute. When the sentence orders is between the moderate and severe, pieces of flesh are taken off at every stroke of the executioner; and when it is ordered to be given with the utmost severity, the executioner, striking the flank, under the ribs, cuts the flesh to the very bowels.

Another kind of chastisement is sometimes given to a most unmerciful degree, on the soles of the offender's feet, with a stick about the thickness of a man's finger.

Even the holy inquisition cannot exceed the horrid refinements of cruelty formerly practised by these barbarians, and we fear too often used even now, to force people to confess by torture. One of the most terrible of these excruciating torments, called the Strappado, is executed thus. The malefactor, having his hands tied behind him with a rope, is hoisted up in the air, by that cord, with a great beam fastened to his feet, upon which the executioner jumps up from time to time, to augment the pain, and farther the dislocation of the members, whilst a smoke and fire which are made under his feet, burn and stifle him. Sometimes they cause the malefactor's head to be shaven, and, as he is hanging, pour cold water, drop by drop, upon his crown; which occasions such anguish as is not to be equalled even by whipping, and then clapping a red hot iron upon the stripes, as is often done; or by tying to a spit, and roasting at a fire.

Thieves are tortured to make them discover their accomplices, and confess their other crimes. If it be the first offence, they are whipped from the prison to the market-place, where the offender hath an ear cut off, and is sent back to prison for two years. If he offends a second time, he is punished as before, and kept in prison, till there be a number of them to banish into Siberia. Theft is never punished with death in Russia: but the receivers and concealers of stolen goods are punished equally with the thief. Murder, committed without any necessity of defence,

their enormous rapine suffer them to continue so long in place, they made great fortunes; by which we may judge of their equity; especially as they had no sort of salaries allowed them, but only a present of three or four thousand rubles, according to the abilities of the people in their department, when they first entered on their government.

The czars used formerly to keep up the veneration of their subjects, by appearing very rarely, except in public acts of ceremony and devotion, and then with a solemnity suitable to the occasion; while the bojars, or privy-counsellors, disposed of the empire at their pleasure. In consequence of the regulations of Peter I. the affairs of the Russian empire, in general, are now managed by the following colleges, or chanceries, as they are called.

The senate, or directing council, is now the supreme court of judicature, to which all pro-

ference, is punished with death. The criminal is kept six weeks in a very close prison, upon bread and water only; after which he receives the communion, and is beheaded.

But even all these cruelties fall short of those which are inflicted on such as cannot satisfy their creditors. He who does not pay at the time agreed on, is put into the house of an officer appointed for that purpose, and has a certain farther time allowed him to make satisfaction. If he fails therein, he is carried to prison, from whence he is brought every day to a place before the chancery, where the common executioner beats him upon the shin-bones with a wand about the bigness of a man's little finger, for an hour together. That done, he is returned to prison, unless he can find security for his appearing again the next day at the same hour, to be treated in the same manner, till he has made satisfaction. This is executed rigorously upon all sorts of persons, of whatever condition or quality they be, subjects or foreigners, men or women, priests or laymen: and if, at last, the debtor cannot find wherewith to pay, he, his wife, and children, are sentenced to be bond-slaves to the creditor.

cesses

cesses are brought by appeal, in the last resort. The senate takes care of all domestic affairs, receives accounts from all the colleges, excepting the holy synod, and issues out orders to them all accordingly. In the reign of the empress Catharine, the privy-council used to send orders to the senate; but in the reign of the empress Anne such orders were issued only by the cabinet-council, which consisted of two ministers of state. The late empress entirely abolished the cabinet-council, and, by an edict of the 12th of December 1741, restored to the senate the same power which it had in the time of Peter the Great.

The holy synod, or ecclesiastical council, instituted by Peter I. when he suppressed the patriarchate, regulates all affairs relating to the church.

The war-college has the care of recruiting and exercising the whole Russian army, except the guards. Under the war-college are, the office of the general-commissary at war, the office of ordnance, that of the under-commissary at war, the military chest, the office for cloathing the army, the victualling-office, and the accomptant's office.

The admiralty-college manages all naval concerns without exception.

The college for foreign affairs pays the salaries of the Russian ministers at foreign courts, pensions, and the expences of foreign envoys, which are always defrayed.

The college of justice at Moscow determines suits brought thither by appeal from the conquered provinces, and has likewise a consistorial
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jurisdiction over the protestants and papists in that city.

The wotshinoi-college, or feudal chancery, is held at Moscow, and has the care of every thing relating to the estates of private persons, and their boundaries or limits.

The college of the treasury has the direction of levying all the public revenues, except the poll-tax and the produce of the salt-works.

The state-office issues out the public money, and gives the necessary directions to the chamber of accompts. The revenue-chambers at Petersburg and Moscow are accordingly dependent on this office.

The revision-college is a sort of check on the other colleges, and receives their accounts in order to examine them.

The colleges for trade, mines, and manufactures are distinct offices; and besides the departments from which they take their names, they have also the management of the naval customs or tolls, and decide all commercial disputes between merchants and traders.

The confiscation-chancery directs the sale of all forfeited estates, and the levying of all fines imposed by the other colleges.

The salt-office has the direction of the revenues arising from the salt-works, which are appropriated for the sovereign's privy-purse.

Besides these, there is a college of the magistracy, as it is called, to which all the magistrates in the empire are accountable for their conduct; and a privy-chancery, which takes cognizance of all hospitals, dispensaries, medicines, &c.

They

They hold three sacraments, baptism, the Lord's supper, and extreme unction ; which last they look upon as extremely conducive, but not absolutely necessary to salvation. They likewise hold transubstantiation, and receive the eucharist in both kinds †, and observe four lents. They use

† The consecrated bread is put into the wine, and a little of both is taken out of the chalice with a spoon, and given to the communicants. The wine is red, and mixed with warm water, the better to imitate the blood and water which issued from our Saviour's side. The communion bread, or wafer, as the Romanists call it, is about twice as big as a crown-piece, and somewhat thicker ; but the priest breaks it into as many pieces as there are communicants. It must be leavened, and have been kneaded and baked by the widow of a priest. This they think so essential to the sacrament, that one of the principal causes of the schism between the Greek and Latin church, is, that the latter makes use of unleavened bread, contrary to the express institution of Christ, who, to abolish the ceremony of the Jews, who made use of unleavened bread, was pleased to take common bread. In the middle of this wafer is the figure of a crucifix, which the priest, after he has consecrated it, takes off with an instrument like a lancet, and puts into a pyx, or wooden-box, suspended over the altar. When the communion is to be administered to a sick person, a little of this consecrated bread is taken out of the pyx, mixed with three drops of wine and a drop or two of water, and given in a spoon : but if, through weakness, or otherwise, he be not able to swallow the bread, only a little consecrated wine is given. At the administering of the sacrament, the priest says, " This is the true body and the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which he hath given for thee, " and for many more, for the remission of thy sins ; which " thou shalt take in remembrance of him. God bless thee." The more devout sort sleep after they have received the communion, that they may not sin that day. What remains of the bread after consecration, serves for holy bread, which they call kutja ; and on the Sunday following, the priest gives a morsel of it to each of those who had communicated the week before. Formerly the consecrated bread used not only to be sent into the country, to places where there was no priest, but also to be given to travellers, or persons going to the wars, who made their confession before they set out and were to communicate themselves if they were in any danger of death. The custom of receiving the

use auricular confession, and think they are cleansed by it from as many sins as they confess by name, and in particular to the priest †. The

the consecrated wine in the church, and carrying away the bread, to be taken at home; as also that of the anchorets, who carried away both to the places of their retirements, is so ancient, that St. Cyprian, and even Tertullian, speak of it as a thing commonly done in their times. But this kind of communicating is now absolutely abolished in Russia, as well as elsewhere. There is scarce a Russian but communicates at Easter, after an extraordinary mortification for eight days together; during which they eat nothing but a hard kind of bread, and drink only water, or quas, which is so sour, that it sometimes brings them almost to death's door. They generally receive the communion upon Easter eve, and hold that it must at least be upon a fasting day; a circumstance which they observe so strictly, that if any one communicates on a Sunday, he is not to eat any flesh that day. They give the communion to infants, when sick, be they ever so young, but only in one kind, till they are seven years of age; after which they are communicated like grown persons, because, says the Greek church, one begins to sin mortally at about that age. Agreeable to this was the practice of the third century, when, as we learn from St. Cyprian, children were communicated immediately after baptism; a custom which continued till St. Augustine's time. The Russians also give the communion to distracted persons; but they only touch their lips with the bread, after it hath lain a while in the wine.

† Those who are come to years of discretion are obliged to go to confession before they communicate. They make their confession standing, in the middle of the church, and before the picture of some saint, on which they keep their eyes fixed, as long as the confession lasts, making a very particular recital of all their sins and at every sin expressing their remorse, and promising amendment. The priest, with the absolution, enjoins them a penance, which generally consists in repeating several times the words *Ghospodi Pomilui*, or in making a number of reverences before the pictures of saints, abstaining from women for a certain time, standing at the church door; or, if the sins be very heinous, he orders them to use a holy water, which is consecrated on Twelfth-day, and kept by the priests all the year long for this purpose, and not to be had of them for nothing. They think that water has the virtue to purify them of their sins, and restore them to a state of grace.

Atha-

Athanasian creed is their rule of faith. They believe in God the Father, as creator of all the world; in God the Son, as sanctifier and redeemer of all mankind; and in the Holy Ghost, as sanctifier of all the faithful: but they maintain, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. They hold tradition to be of equal authority with the written word of God; and think to satisfy the second commandment by allowing no carved images; but their churches are filled with miserable paintings, without shade or perspective; and even some of those dabbings, as well as the finer strokes of the Italian pencils, are said to be the works of angels; particularly a celebrated piece of the virgin Mary with three hands, which is preserved in the monastery of Jerusalem, about thirty miles from Moscow*.

* The Russians relate very gravely, and deem those atheists who doubt the truth of their account, that the painter who drew this picture of the virgin Mary, with our Saviour in her arms, having sketched out his piece so as to make both her hands appear, was surprised to find, when he went next to look at it, three hands regularly disposed about the child: upon which, thinking that some other person of the trade had slipped privately into his room, and done this to put a trick upon him, he took his pencil, and in a kind of passion rubbed out the third hand, finished the picture, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket. The next morning, he found a third hand painted again as before. Astonished and amazed, he crossed and blessed himself: but still concluding, upon reflection, that some wag had found means to get into his apartment, he again effaced the supernumerary hand, and then locked and sealed his doors, and secured his windows, with the utmost care. The next morning, he found the third hand painted a third time, and was going to alter it again, when the virgin Mary appeared in person, and bid him forbear; for that it was her pleasure to be so drawn.

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The respect paid to these pictures is the grossest kind of idolatry. That the gospel was first preached to the Russians by St. Andrew, as some of their chronicles pretend, is, at best, a very improbable story. But, as it is not our business here to write an ecclesiastical history, we shall content ourselves with noticing such particular religious ceremonies and customs of the people we are speaking of, as may help to throw a light upon the character and manners.

Their private devotion consists in fasting and prayer; in the former of which they greatly exceed the papists. Wednesdays and Fridays are stated fasts all the year round. In Lent they neither eat flesh, milk, eggs, or butter; but confine themselves wholly to vegetables, bread, and fish fried in oil.

The eighth week before Easter, which is called the butter-week, may be looked upon as the Russian carnival, and is spent in all kinds of entertainments and licentiousness. Among the diversions exhibited during this time, one of the most singular is that of riding in sledges down a steep declivity of twenty ells in height, which is made with boards, and covered with ice, by throwing water to freeze on it.

In their private devotions they kneel before a picture, for they will by no means allow of images, of our Saviour, the virgin Mary, St. Nicolas, who is their great patron, or some other saint, to which they bow several times, making the sign of the cross with their thumb and forefinger, and third finger, on the breast, forehead, and shoulders, at the same time repeating in a low voice, the Lord's prayer, and some other
short

short ejaculations, particularly the words, *Ghospodi Pomilui*, "Lord be merciful unto me."

Their church-service, which is recited in the Slavonian tongue, unintelligible at least to the common people, consists in abundance of trifling ceremonies, long masses, singing, and prayers; all which are performed by the priests, the congregation in the mean time saying *Ghospodi Pomilui*. A lecture from one of the ancient fathers is sometimes added. Sermons are preached but in few churches; and even there but very seldom.

The Russians, like other people, have had their sectaries ever since the institution of christianity among them; for sects are often the fruit of ignorance, as well as of pretended knowledge. But Russia is the only great christian state in which religion has not occasioned civil wars; though it has, indeed, produced some tumults there.

The inhabitants of the provinces conquered from Sweden profess Lutheranism; and the protestants, of whom there are great numbers among the Russians, as also the papists, enjoy a full liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of their religion; so that they have churches and priests or ministers at Petersbourg, Cronstadt, Moscow, Archangel, and Astracan; but the papists have no longer the privilege of hanging up bells in their churches.

A considerable number of Russian subjects profess the Mahometan religion; and still greater numbers are yet pagans. In order to promote their conversion, the synod has instituted a society for the propagation of christian knowledge; and some accounts say, that many thousands

sands of them have been converted to christianity.

Under the present government, the holy synod is held in great veneration. All the ecclesiastics are permitted to wear their beards and their own lank hair. Their dress in a sort of long cloak; and on their head they wear a high stiffened black cap, from which a piece of the same stuff hangs down on their back, and a large flapped hat. Secular priests, when they are out of the church, generally wear a blue or brown long coat. The protopopes, or parish priests, or chaplains, are of the meanest people, "husbands of one wife," in a literal explication of the scripture; being obliged to marry, but to a maiden only; and when she died, the priest was formerly excluded from all farther service, and obliged to turn monk, or be degraded, and take up some sorry trade for a livelihood; in which case he was allowed to marry again; but, in consequence of the regulations of Peter I. they are now permitted to be continued in the under-offices of the church.

In the thirteenth century several popes laboured hard to put the great dukes of Russia out of conceit with the Greek religion, by recommending to them that of Rome, but without success. The doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris made the same attempt of late years; endeavouring, at the suppression of the patriarchate by Peter I. to bring about an union of the Russian church with that of Rome; but they were not able to carry their point.

Idleness, ignorance, indigence, age, infirmities, domestic discontent, violence, and sometimes the overflowings of a misguided devotion, fill

fill the numerous convents of Russia, as they do those of other countries, notwithstanding the care of Peter I. to stop this evil, by wisely ordering that no man should be permitted to embrace the monastic life before the age of thirty, or any woman to take the veil under fifty.

The abbot, or head of a monastery, is called Archimandrite, and the prior of a convent Ingumen. An abbess, or head of a nunnery, is styled Ingumenia. Deacons, popes, or papas as they are sometimes called, and protopopes, who are priests that belong to the cathedral and principal churches, are exceeding numerous in Russia. Every large village there has a church, and a priest to officiate in it; and in the towns, almost every street has its church or chapel, and frequently both.

The Russians baptize their children as soon as they are born. If the child be very weak, or in danger of death, this ceremony is performed immediately, at home, though never in the room where the mother lies-in: but, if well, it is carried to church by the godfather and godmother. The priest receives the infant at the church-door, and there exorcises it, by laying his hands upon it, saying, "Get out of this child, thou unclean spirit, and make way for the Holy Ghost;" and by blowing three times, cross-wise upon the child, to drive away the devil, by whom the Russians believe children are really possessed before baptism, and who, they think, would profane the church, were he to be ejected in it.

The ceremony is concluded with a small cross of gold, silver, or lead, according to the abilities of the parents, which the priest hangs about the child's

child's neck, with so strict an injunction to wear it all his life, that if it be not found about him at his death, the Russians would not bury the carcase, but drag it to a dunghill.

If more than one child is to be baptised at the same time, the font is emptied after each christening, and the new water is consecrated; the former being defiled, say they, with the impurity of the original sin of the child that was baptised before, and therefore not fit to cleanse a second.

They will not, by any means, heat the water intended for christening with fire; but, when it is very cold, they put it into a warm place till the chill is taken off. Adults, who are baptised, whether pagans, Mahometans, or Christians of another communion, who embrace the religion of the Greek church, receive their baptism in a brook or river, where they are plunged over head and ears, be the weather never so cold; nay, sometimes the ice is broken to get them into water. The latter of these converts in particular, are obliged to go for six weeks into a monastery, where the monks instruct them in the Russian manner of honouring the saints, of doing reverence to their pictures, and of making the sign of the cross. They are afterwards brought to the place of baptism, where they are obliged to abjure their former religion, to detest it as heretical, and to spit as often as it named.

Till the time of Peter I. who rectified many strange customs and abuses among the Russians, the young men and maids of that nation were not permitted to see, or have any discourse with each other before marriage, and much less to make one another any promise to that effect, by word or writing. When those

who had children marriageable, especially daughters, had found out a match they liked, they used to speak to the young man's parents, and declare their desire of making an alliance with them. If the girl was handsome, or rather if she was not deformed, the mother of the intended husband, or some other woman related to him, was allowed to visit her, and the friends on both sides afterwards settled the match.

This way of marrying, without the man's ever seeing the person he is contracted to till it is too late to recede, may do, as M. de Voltaire observes, in Turkey or Persia, where polygamy is established, and the women are locked up: but it is bad for countries where only one wife is allowed, and where divorces are rare. The remedy of this abuse was therefore a care well worthy of Peter the Great.

Olearius gives the following account of the ceremonies used by the Russians, in his time, at their funerals. As soon as a person expired, notice was sent to his relations and friends, who thereupon repaired to his house, stood round his corpse, excited one another to bemoan him, as if they intended purposely to heighten the lamentations of the women.

The coffin was covered with a cloth, or sometimes with a coat which the defunct had worn, and carried to church; preceded by a priest, bearing a picture of the saint assigned to the deceased for his patron, at his baptism, and by the four nearest unmarried female relations, as chief mourners, who filled the air with howling cries, measured in such exact time, that they all ceased, and all began again together. Other priests walked round the coffin during this procession,

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and incensed it all the way. If the deceased was a rich man, and the season of the year permitted it, he was kept above ground eight or ten days, during which the priest incensed the corpse, and sprinkled it with holy water every day. When the ground was frozen so hard that a spade could not enter it, the bodies of the poorer sort were laid up in dead-houses, which they call God's houses, till graves could be dug for them. At the grave, the coffin was opened, and a picture of the deceased's saint held over him, while the priest recited the funeral service; after which the kindred and friends took leave of the dead person, by kissing either him or the coffin; and then the priest put between his fingers a piece of paper, signed by the bishop or other principal ecclesiastic of the place, and the confessor, certifying that the deceased died in the true faith, and recommending him to suitable treatment in the other world*.

The Russians had a tradition, which was generally received, that whoever was buried in the monastery of Petersky at Kiow, would be

* The form of this pass-port runs thus: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed, the patriarch, or metropolitan, and priest of the city of N. do make known and certify, by these presents, that the bearer of these our letters hath always lived among us like a good christian, professing the Greek religion; and though he hath committed some sins, yet that he hath confessed the same, and thereupon received absolution, and taken the communion for the remission of his offences: that he hath honoured God and his saints; that he hath said his prayers; that he hath fasted on the hours and days appointed by the church; and that he hath demeaned himself so well towards me, who am his confessor, that I have no reason to complain of him, nor to deny him the absolution of his sins. In witness whereof we have given him the present testimonial, to the end that, upon sight thereof, St. Peter may open unto him the gate of eternal bliss."

saved,

saved, even though he died without repenting of his sins. But Peter I. took care to abolish, as far as he could, these, and many other superstitious abuses, when he settled the national synod.

Before the time of Peter I. the Russians were, not undeservedly, looked upon as mere savages. But that wise and great emperor, by incredible application, and a proper temperament of severity and mildness, brought about, by degrees, such an alteration in their manners, as set them upon a kind of level with some of the civilized nations of Europe, at least while he lived; for they seem now to be retrograding apace. The work which he begun would have required a succession of princes, animated with the same spirit. The Russians are ingenious, implicitly obedient to the will of their superiors, and especially of late, good soldiers, when properly commanded: but they are distrustful, immodest, quarrelsome, insolent in prosperity, abject in adversity, and excessively deceitful in their traffic. Persons of distinction among them are very fond of state and splendor.

The insatiable eagerness of their common people after spirituous liquors, especially in the carnival time, may in some measure be imputed to their rigorous fasts, and the slender diet they live upon throughout the year. Their usual drink is quas, which is a kind of small beer, and brago, brewed of oatmeal and hops: that of their gentry is mead, and, of late, wine; though even with them brandy always makes a part of every repast. Among the lower sort, in particular, the men give themselves up most to excessive drinking, which they do to such a degree,

as to pawn every rag upon their backs at ale-houses, and go home stark-naked.

The ancient dress of the Russians, consisting of a long robe lined with fur, a vest enriched with jewels on days of ceremony, and a high turban of fine sable or other skins, was perhaps more noble, and certainly better suited to their climate, though it might be less convenient for war, or any active employment, than a short coat and waistcoat, like ours, which the czar Peter obliged them to wear, at the same time that he made them cut off their beards; of which, and of prominent bellies, they were great admirers.

The women of fashion in this country live extremely retired, seldom going out of their houses, and receiving the visits of their friends and relations much oftener than they return them. Their dress within doors is generally made of some common stuff of little value: but when they go to church, or their husbands would honour a friend with their presence, they are clad magnificently.

C H A P. III.

Language, Learning, Arts, Manufactures, and
Commerce of Russia.

THE Russian language, which is remarkably soft, derives its origin from the Sclavonian, though it differs greatly from it at present, and with regard to religious subjects, is intermixed with numbers of Greek words. The alphabet consists of forty-two letters, most of which are Greek characters, as they were written in the ninth century, when the knowledge of letters was introduced into Russia. But as those letters did not express every particular found in the Sclavonian tongue, recourse was had to several Hebrew letters, and some arbitrary signs. The Muscovite, Novogrodian, and Ukrainian dialects, are the most used in Russia, together with that of Archangel, which greatly resembles the Siberian.

The several branches of learning were but little known in Russia, before the reign of Peter the Great, who, sparing neither pains nor expence, to dispel the clouds of ignorance in which his subjects were involved, and to inspire them with a taste for arts and sciences, founded an academy at Petersburg, besides other schools in the different parts of his empire. However, the number of Russian literati is as yet but small : and as there are only three universities in that vast empire, which are those of Petersburg,

Kiow, and Moscow, learning may still be said to be only in its infancy in Russia.

The members of the academy of sciences at Petersburg, not only publish collections of their own memoirs, but compose books for the instruction of youth in the sciences, besides translating several useful works published in foreign countries.

Formerly the Russians, like all other people in their first state, were wholly employed in agriculture, feeding of cattle, hunting, and fishing. However, numbers of excellent artificers having been invited to Petersburg by Peter the Great, the Russians shewed, that, with proper instructions, they did not want a capacity for all kinds of handicraft-trades; for they have now flourishing manufactures of velvet, silk, woollen stuffs, linen, copper, brass, iron, steel, and tin; and make great guns, fire-arms, wire, cordage, sail-cloth, paper, parchment, glass, gun-powder, &c.

Peter the Great first established the art of printing in Russia. His types and other implements were brought from Holland. A press, with letters, had been sent from Poland to Moscow, and a printing house erected, by the approbation of one of the czars; but the building was set on fire in the night, and burnt to the ground, by the procurement, as was generally supposed, of the priests, who looked upon all books, and especially such as treated of their own history, and the miracles of their saints, to be as dangerous as withcraft.

Russia affords a variety of commodities which are of great use to foreigners. As the exports of
this

this country far exceed its imports, the balance of trade is considerably in its favour*.

To

* In order to give the reader some idea of the yearly exports of Russia, we shall transcribe the particulars collected by Dr. Busching from authentic accounts, according to which the following quantities of the commodities here mentioned, are annually exported from Petersburg, viz.

	Arshines.
Gallimanco	1,214,000
Linen	4,000,000
Table ditto	600,000
	Puds.
Bees-wax	22,000
Ising-glass	1,500
Flax	65,000
Hemp	1,000,000
Tallow	100,000
Russia leather	200,000
Pressed caviar	20,000
Hogs-bristles	6,500
Hare-skins	400,000
Pieces of furr, &c. &c.	70,000

The red and black yuchte, or Russia leather, cannot be equalled in any other part of the world for colour, smell, and softness. The best sort of it is dressed at Jaroslaw, Rostrom, and Pleskow. One may judge of the genuineness of Russia leather, not only by the colour and softness, but also by its fuming and smelling like burnt leather, when rubbed hard. The word yucht, or juchte, signifies a pair; two skins being always put together.

The quantity of bar, and other unwrought iron, annually exported from Russia, amounts, one year with another, to 300,000 puds; and the Russian iron is little, if at all inferior to that of Sweden.

Caviar, or Caweer, is made of the roes of the fish called beluga, and the sturgeon. The best is made of the beluga roes, and is of two sorts; namely, the granulated, and the pressed caviar. The former, which is most valued, is prepared in autumn and winter, but the latter is made in summer: and both sorts are exported to the southern parts of Europe. The granulated sort is first salted, and then put into kegs for exportation. Caviar is most palatable when fresh, and spread on bread, with salt, leek, and pepper: but as it soon becomes tainted by

To enter more particularly into the commerce of Russia, would exceed the limits of this volume. I shall therefore refer those readers who are desirous of a more particular account thereof to the account given by lord Whitworth.

Money was formerly so very scarce in this country, that foreigners were obliged, when they bartered their goods for those of Russia, to give specie with them to the Russians, who had no idea of any commercial course of exchange till the year 1670. Most of the foreign merchants used to reside at Moscow, and went in the summer to Archangel, where they had their warehouses and factors. The practice continued till the year 1721, when the seat of commerce was transferred from Archangel to Petersburg, by order of Peter the Great, and the foreign traders were, in consequence thereof, obliged to remove their factories to the latter. At the same time also, among other regulations, a tariff was settled: but this was abolished in 1733, and the old Russian rubel was restored, by which the customs and duties are computed to this day. That rubel, before the present century, was only an imaginary piece, containing an hundred silver copeiks of those times, the only real current coin formerly known in Russia, which,

warmth, it cannot well be exported fresh. The Russians, in their language, called it lkra.

No greater quantity of rhubarb is exported from Russia, than what is allowed by the empress, who also fixes the price of it.

however,

however, were as large and heavy as those coined since †.

The first real rubels, half rubels, &c. were coined in 1703. Their standard should be of the same goodness with Lyon dollars, viz. twelve ounces fine silver, and twelve ounces alloy to the pound weight: but most of the bullion that is carried into the mint, is not above ten ounces fine silver; and being seldom tried when melted, the Russian coins are of different intrinsic value, as the run happens to be good or bad.

The merchants and traders at Petersburg consist of natives and foreigners. The former may sell by wholesale only, and that to none but the natives: for foreigners are not permitted to have any commercial dealings with one another in Russia, nor are they allowed to keep the goods consigned to them in their own warehouses; but are obliged to deposit them in magazines, built by the government for that purpose, and to pay rent for warehouse-room in proportion to the quantity of goods they are possessed of.

Most of the foreign traders at Petersburg are only factors: the rest, who trade on their own bottoms, deal chiefly in toys and grocery. The factors are intrusted with very large capitals,

† 3 copeiks make an altine. 10 copeiks a grieven. 25 copeiks a popoltine. 50 copeiks a poltine. 100 copeiks a rubel. The copeik is divided into denushkas and polushkas. The denushka, which Conslet takes to have been the first coin of the country, because the Russian word for money in general is denga, from whence, according to him; the diminutive denushka is half a copeik, and the polushka is half the denushka.

and may get handsome fortunes without engaging in any commerce for themselves.

All foreign merchandize is generally sold at a year's credit : but the Russian commodities must be paid for on delivery, unless the owners of them find a difficulty in selling their stock ; in which case they deal by way of exchange : though even then they will not barter goods for goods, but commonly insist on a fourth, a third, or half of the value of the whole in specie.

The English enjoyed considerable privileges in their trade to Russia, so nearly as the year 1553, when the czar Iwan Basilowitz was on the throne, as we observed before. These privileges were renewed by Peter I. who gave them great encouragements ; but permitted them to send their goods only to Moscow. In 1752, a treaty of commerce was concluded betwixt Russia and England, by which it was stipulated that the English should be allowed to send goods through Russia into Persia : but captain Elton, a Scotchman, having entered into the service of Shach Nadir in 1746, and built ships for him on the Caspian sea, the Russians put a stop to this trade to Persia. However, the English still have a more considerable trade to Russia than any other nation.

Such foreigners as settle at Petersburg, without actual commissions, and a sufficient credit in exchange, run a great risk of becoming bankrupts ; of which there have been too many instances. There is not a nation in the world more inclined to commerce than the Russians : but they are so full of chicanery and finesse, that a stranger cannot be too cautious in his dealings with them.

As

As we gave in our last note some account of the money of the Russians, our commercial readers, in particular, if any such we have, will perhaps not be displeased at our subjoining here, in another, their weights and measures †.

† The weights peculiar to Russia, are,
 A solothnick, which is the sixth part of an ounce, and is divided into halves, quarters, and eighths.
 A pound, which is equal to ninety six solothnicks.
 A pud, which is forty of their pounds, and thitty-six of ours.
 A berkowitz, which is equal to ten puds.

The Russian measures of length, are,
 The arshine, which is equal to twenty-eight inches, and one tenth, English measure.
 The werfchock, which is a tenth of the arshine; and
 The fashen, or fathom, which contains three arshines.

Among the measures of capacity, are
 The galenok or kruschka, a measure for liquids, eight of which are equal to a vedro; which last contains about twenty gallons English, and answers to the German cymer.
 The chetwerick, a dry measure, reckoned equal to 320 Russian pounds.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Coronation, Titles, Court, Revenues,
Expences, Forces, &c. of the Czar.

AT the accession of a new czar, all the metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, nobility, and principal merchants throughout the whole empire, are summoned to Moscow, against the day of the coronation; when the officiating prelate, which used to be the patriarch, while there was one, but now it is the archbishop of Moscow, conducts the new great duke to the church of Precheste, or our lady, within the Kremlin, where a scaffold is erected three steps high, and covered with rich Persian tapestry, on which are set three chairs, at equal distances one from the other. One of these is for the great duke, another for the archbishop, and the third for the ducal cap and robe. The robe is of purple satin, lined with sable; and on the top of the cap, which is embroidered with jewels, is a little crown, set as thick as possible with diamonds, and said to be the same which the great duke Demetrius Monomach took at Caffa in Tartary, and immediately destined for the coronation of his successors.

As soon as the czar enters the church, the clergy begin their hymns, after which the archbishop prays to God, to St. Nicholas, the great patron of the Russians, and to the other saints, desiring their presence at that day's solemnity. The prayer being ended, the chief counsellor of state takes the great duke by the hand, presents him

him to the archbishop, and says to him ; “ The Knez and Bojars acknowledge the prince here present, to be lawful heir to the crown ; and desire that, as such, you immediately crown him :” Upon which the archbishop leads the prince up to the scaffold, seats him on one of the three chairs, touches his forehead with a little cross of diamonds, and blesses him. Then one of the metropolitans reads the following prayer. “ O Lord our God, King of kings, who didst chuse thy servant David, by thy prophet Samuel, and didst cause him to be anointed king over thy people Israel, hearken to our prayers, which, though unworthy, we offer up unto thee. Look down from thy sanctuary upon this thy servant, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king over these thy holy nations : Anoint him with the oil of gladness ; protect him by thy power ; set upon his head a precious diadem ; grant him a long and happy life ; put into his hand a royal scepter, and make him sit upon the throne of justice ; make subject to him all barbarous nations ; let his heart and understanding always continue in thy fear. In all the course of his life, let him be constantly obedient to thy commandments ; suffer not any heresy or schism to come near his person or government ; but shew him the salvation of thy holy and universal church ; that he may judge thy people with justice ; protect the children of the poor, and finally attain everlasting life : for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory. God the father, God the son, God the Holy Ghost, be with us, and remain with us.”

After this prayer, the archbishop orders two metropolitans to take the cap and robe ; and
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some of the bojars, whom he directs to come upon the scaffold, to put them on the great duke, whom he blesses a second time, by touching his forehead with the little cross of diamonds. The ducal cap is then delivered to them, and they set it upon the prince's head, while the archbishop says, In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and blesses him the third time. That done, the archbishop bids all the prelates approach, and each of them gives the great duke his benediction; but only with the two fore-fingers. The great duke and the archbishop then sit down; but rise again immediately, to order the singing of the litany, every verse of which ends with *Ghospodî pomilui*, "Lord have mercy upon us," and is frequently intermixed with the great duke's name. After the litany, they sit down again, and one of the metropolitans goes up to the altar, and says, singing, "God preserve in health our czar and great duke of all the Russias, whom he hath of his love bestowed upon us, and grant him a long and happy life." The words are echoed round for some time, by every one present; after which the archbishop alone goes up to the prince, and tells him, "That since, through the providence of God, all the estates of the realm, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, have established and crowned him great duke over all the Russias, and entrusted him with a government of so great importance, he ought to apply all his thoughts to love God, keep his commandments, administer justice, and protect and maintain the true Greek religion." He then bows himself down to the ground, before the czar, even touching it with his forehead, as a token

token of his homage; and all the rest, ecclesiastics, nobles, and others, in their respective ranks, do the same. They then go to the church of St. Michael the Archangel, and afterwards to that of St. Nicholas, both within the walls of the palace, as well as that of Precheste, and, after singing in each of them the same litanies as before, conclude the ceremonies with dining in the great hall of the Kremlin.

The title of the Russian sovereign, at full length, runs now as follows:

“ N. N. Emperor and sole sovereign of all the Russias, sovereign lord of Moscow, Kiow, Wlodimina, Novogrod; czar in Casan, Astracan, and Siberia; lord of Pleskow; great duke of Smolensko; duke of Esthonia, Livonia, and Carelia; of Tweria, Ingoria, Pernia, Wiatkia, Bulgaria, and lord of several other territories; great duke of Novogrod in the low country of Tchernickow, Resan, Rostow, Jaroslaw, Bielosero, Uldoria, Obdoria, Condinia; emperor of all the northern parts; lord of the territory of Iweria; of the Carthalinian, Greuzinian, and Georgian czars; of the Kabardinian, Circassian and Gorian princes; and lord and supreme ruler of many other countries and territories.”

The Russian court has always been very numerous and magnificent, being filled, particularly on solemn occasions, by the bojars, or privy-counsellors, with all the officers of each prikaze; by the nobles and gentry, who are obliged to constant attendance, by titles of honour and distinction, without any salary. But the czar Peter I. abolished these formalities, without settling any other court; some said, to save the expence during the wars he was engaged in; others

others from his particular temper, which was averse to such constraints. On any ceremony, he was attended by the chief officers of his army, and only some of his nobility. However, the former pomp has since been restored, and heightened by the addition of three orders of knighthood, created by the prince we have been speaking of.

The first, and most honourable, is that of St. Andrew, or the blue ribbon, instituted by Peter the Great in 1698, in honour of St. Andrew, the patron of Russia. The empress Catharine gave the statutes, and assigned proper habits for this order, which has its ensigns, motto, and collar.

The second is the order of St. Alexander Newski, or the red ribbon, which was indeed instituted by Peter I. but the czarina Catharine first conferred it in the year 1725. This order has also its badge and motto.

The third is a female order, which Peter the Great founded in 1714, in honour of his consort Catharine; and from her name he called it the order of St. Catharine.

These honours, as Voltaire observes, command respect, cost the sovereign nothing, and flatter those who receive them, without adding to their power.

An hundred and fifty tables are now spread twice a day at the Russian court, and served with eighteen hundred dishes. The court-purveyor receives for this purpose, two thousand rubels every three days, exclusive of the produce of the crown-estates, and the proper quantities of wine, sugar, and spices. The daily consumption of coffee is a pud, or thirty-six pounds.

pounds of our weight ; and seven thousand puds of salt are expended there every month.

The revenues of the Russian empire are variously computed. The author of the *Anmerkung uber die Moscovitischen briefe*, or "Observations on the Moscovite letters," pretends that they amount to sixty millions of rubels : but this is certainly exaggerated. Some compute them at twenty millions of rubels, which is still beyoned the mark ; and others ||, on the contrary, reckon them to be eight millions, which is too little †. M. de Voltaire says, that according to a state of the Russian finances in 1725, they amounted to thirteen millions of rubels.

M. Busching agrees with him as to this augmentation, which he estimates at near a fifth-part, in consequence of an imperial ukase, or edict issued in 1752 by the late empress Elizabeth ; but at the same time he assures us, from an authentic account of the empress's whole revenues, lying before him at the time of his writing, that they amount to only about ten millions of rubels. Which ever of these authors is right, it is very certain, that the imperial revenues are not proportionate to the vast extent of the Russian dominions ; that they do not all consist of ready money, the country in many places furnishing recruits for the army in lieu of it, and most of the inhabitants of Siberia paying

|| Among which number are the author of *Das Veränderte Russland*, and the writer of the remarks upon *L'histoire gé-néalogique des Tartares*. Strahlenberg says they amounted to five millions of rubels in the time of the czar Alexis.

† Lord Whitworth reckoned them at only about seven millions of rubels in the year 1710.

their tribute in furs ; and that they are sufficient to answer the exigencies of the state.

By the indefatigable care of Peter the Great, the military establishment of Russia has been entirely new modelled. The Russians at present are good soldiers, especially if they be well disciplined : but the infantry far surpasses the cavalry. Both are now on the German footing.

According to the state of the Russian forces drawn up by M. Van Hoven in the year 1746, the army then consisted of 246,494 regulars, and 120,000 irregulars. The fleet was composed of 24 ships of the line, 7 frigates, 3 bomb-ketches, and 2 praams or flat-boats ; besides the galley fleet at Petersburg, consisting of 102 galleys. The compliment of the whole fleet amounted to 10,570 men, of whom 7701 were sailors.

The men of war are laid up at Revel and Cronstadt, and the galleys at Petersburg. The Russians cannot as yet be said to have a complete good harbour in the Baltic, the water at Cronstadt being too fresh, which does considerable damage to the ships that lie there ; the mouth of the harbour being also too narrow, and surrounded with rocks and dangerous sands ; and the ice remaining there too long, the sea being seldom clear of it before the end of May. Some sea-officers and ship carpenters have of late been sent to the eastern parts of Siberia, towards Japan, to look out for good havens, and convenient places to build ships ; but we have not yet heard of any progress they have made.

C H A P. V.

Description of the City of Petersburg, the Capital of the Russian Empire.—Its Situation, Extent, Public Buildings, &c. &c.

ST. Petersburg, situate in 59 degrees, 57 minutes north latitude, is one of the capitals of the Russian empire, and an imperial residence. It lies partly on the continent in Ingria and Findland, among thick woods, and partly on several islands, formed by the channel of the Neva, which divides itself into two main branches, called the Great and Little Neva, and many smaller streams, and by the rivers Fontanka and Moika, besides several canals. The low and swampy soil in which it stands has been considerably raised with trunks of trees, earth, and stone: its situation is nevertheless pleasant, and the air wholesome. The city of Petersburg is about six English miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth, and has neither wall nor gates. The number of its houses is computed at eight thousand, about six hundred of which are of stone; but the rest are built with timber, and, for the most part, in an irregular manner, after the Russian taste.

The soil about Petersburg is not very fertile, so that provisions are brought to that city from a great distance, and must be paid for in ready money; which was no small inconvenience to the nobility, who were accustomed to subsist chiefly

chiefly on the produce of their estates, and seldom abounded in money.

The river Neva is about 800 paces broad near Petersburg, but not every where proportionably deep ; so that large ships are cleared at Kronstadt ; but the men of war built at Petersburg are conveyed to Kronstadt by means of certain machines called camels. There is but one bridge over the Neva, which is built with large flat-bottomed boats, and joins the dock-yard to Basili-Ostrow.

Petersburg island, called, by way of distinction, the Island of Old Petersburg, is formed by the Great and Little Neva, and the Newka, and is upwards of two leagues in circuit. It is well peopled ; but most of the houses upon it are very indifferent. Here is still to be seen the little wooden house built by order of Peter the Great, for his residence at the time that he arrived upon the spot where the city now stands : and, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of this remarkable circumstance, it is enclosed within a stone wall, and has been covered with a new roof.

Petersburg island is separated by the Carvowka from another, called the Apothecaries island, which is about five or six miles in circumference, and contains about two hundred houses, besides the large physic-garden, where all kinds of European and Asiatic plants, roots, and trees, are cultivated in green-houses and other proper places. The other part of this island consists of a pleasant wood.

From this island of Old Petersburg you cross the Little Neva to that of Wafili-Ostrow, or Basil's Island, which is the largest of all these islands,

islands. It is surrounded by the Great and Little Neva, and lies towards Kronstadt. Several large canals are cut through this island, particularly at the places where the buildings stand: but most of them being now gone to decay, those parts are little better than morasses. Adjoining to the hemp-warehouse, and opposite to Petersburg-island, are the exchange, the custom house, the pack-house, and the merchants key. Contiguous to these are several large stone buildings, belonging to the imperial academy of sciences, which Peter I. founded in 1724, and endowed with an annual revenue of 24,912 rubles. That monarch also designed to erect an academy of the polite arts: but as an estimate of the expences attending such an institution has not yet been made, the late empress Elizabeth, in the mean time, augmented the former endowment to 53,298 rubles.

The academy is divided into two classes, viz. the academy properly so called, and the university. The members of the former are employed solely in finding out new inventions, or in improving the discoveries of others. They are properly styled academicians; but are commonly called professors. Every academician has an adjunct or assistant, who is under his care, and succeeds him in his place. The academy is governed by a president, but in such manner, that every thing is transacted under the auspices and direction of her imperial majesty.

The university has its particular professors, who read lectures in the sciences, both in the Russian and Latin languages. No person is disqualified from being a professor on account of his religion; but he must not inculcate in his pupils

pupils any thing contrary to the doctrine of the Greek church. In the year 1750 the number of students amounted to thirty, who were sent from different convents, and lived in one house, under the inspection of a professor.

The gymnasium and seminarium belong also to the university.

The next remarkable place, in order, is the *theatrum pyrotechnicum*, or fire-work theatre, built on piles in the river Neva, opposite to the imperial winter-palace. Here is a long stone building, appropriated to the state colleges and offices.

Just beyond these stands the magnificent and spacious edifice, which was formerly prince Menzikoff's palace, but is now the academy of the corps of cadets of noble families, and has received considerable additions, though it still wants a left wing. In 1731, the empress Anne, by the advice of field-marshal count Munich, issued a proclamation, by virtue of which all the young nobility, and officers sons, of Russia and Livonia, were invited to Petersburg, where they were to be educated gratis, according to their rank, &c. In consequence of this ordinance, in the beginning of the year 1732, they made their appearance at Petersburg, and the above-mentioned palace was assigned for their dwelling.

[In 1731.] At that time the number of Russian cadets on this foundation was to be 240, and that of the Germans 120; which number was then indeed complete, besides some supernumeraries: but it is now no longer so, particularly with respect to the German cadets, as, of late years, they have been obliged to engage,
that

that they will never quit the Russian dominions, nor enter into foreign service. The Germans and Russians, intermixed together, lodge, three, four, five, seven, eight or ten, in one apartment, under the inspection of a monitor, who is either a subaltern, or one of the senior cadets. At dinner they have three, and at supper two dishes served up; a captain and a lieutenant being always present. They form three companies, each of which ought to consist of 120 persons. There is a director, or governor in chief; next to him is the commandeur, who is a lieutenant-colonel, and under him is the major. Every company has a captain, a lieutenant-captain, a first and second lieutenant, ensign, serjeant-major, two serjeants, a capitaine d'armée, a quarter-master, a vice-ensign, four corporals, and eight exempts. Their uniform is green, with straw-coloured waistcoats; and the coats they wear upon duty are bordered with a narrow gold lace. Their hours for instruction are from seven to eleven in the morning, and from two to six in the afternoon. According to the original plan, their education was to be entrusted to three professors of law, mathematics, history, and the Russian language; four adjuncts or assistants, and twenty-four masters; but some of these places are now vacant. There are also a riding-master and his assistant, an equerry, and four grooms, with a stud of seventy or eighty horses, maintained on this foundation. The corps is under the controul of the council of state, and the senate. The salary of the governor in chief is 1000 rubels, that of the colonel 1500, that of the major 700 rubels, and the rest in proportion. The

professors and masters have apartments gratis in the house, to which belongs a very fine garden.

Near this academy is the bridge of boats over the Neva; and not far from thence is an academy for 360 sea-cadets.

On the right-hand is the Admiralty-side, or Admiralty-island, which is surrounded by the rivers Neva and Fontanka; and from this island the bridge of boats is laid in the summer to Wafili Ostrow, or Basil's-island. Here are a great number of stone-houses, and elegant palaces along the river side, reaching almost to the bridge of boats. The English factory have their place of worship in this part, and behind it is New Holland, with the rope-walk. The admiralty, or dock-yard, is fortified with a wall and five bastions, planted with several guns; and all ships salute it upon their entrance into the harbour.

Not far from this is the imperial winter-palace, a large square building of three stories high; but the architecture is not extraordinary. Behind it is a spacious area, in which stands a noble equestrian statue of gilt brass erected in honour of Peter I. Contiguous to this, upon the banks of the Neva, are several other palaces, among which is the old imperial winter-palace. The dock affords a double vista, one to the Russian church of the Ascension; the other is terminated by the convent of St. Alexander Newski. The magnificent buildings on both sides of the river Fontanka make also a very fine appearance from thence. The streets behind the admiralty, and through the fields behind the
imperial

imperial summer-palace, are very grand and magnificent.

The Muscovite side, which is properly the city, lies on the continent; and a part of it is very well built. In this quarter are the following remarkable places: the private dock; the court victualling-office; the foundery on the Neva, in which great numbers of cannon and mortars are cast; the fire-work elaboratory; the aqueduct which supplies the fountains in the emperor's garden; the German Lutheran church, dedicated to St. Anne; three Russian churches; the pheasant-house; the Italian garden; Muscovite Jemskoi; the barracks for the horse-guards, together with the stables for their horses; and the convent of St. Alexander Newski. In this convent are deposited the remains of that saint, for which the late empress Elizabeth ordered a silver shrine to be made, which lies on a superb monument, covered with silver plates of a considerable thickness.

Lastly, on the Wiburg-side, as it is called, are the following places of note, viz. St. Samson's church, with the Russian and German burial-places, the sugar-house, the land and sea-hospital, the hospital-church, the beer-brewers quarter, the Dutch beer-brewhouse, a ropewalk, the suburb called Sloboda Kosatschia, a nursery of young oaks, called Great and Little Ockla, a Russian church, and the ruins of the fort called Nienschanz, which was taken and destroyed by Peter I. in 1703.

The inhabitants of this large city, besides Russians, consist of all nations; so that a person hears a great variety of languages, and sees a great diversity of fashions and customs at

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Petersburg. The burghers or citizens, properly so called, do not exceed two hundred ; but the place contains upwards of an hundred thousand souls. The morals of the people, as is generally the case in all large cities, are very corrupt and depraved. The suspicious vigilance of the Russian government renders it necessary for a stranger to be very circumspect in his behaviour and words ; though all possible liberty of conscience is granted to foreigners in religious matters, provided they do not say any thing against the Greek religion. The police of this city is good, and strictly executed.

As the limits of this volume will not permit us to enter into a more minute description of this city and its environs, we shall conclude with a short view of the political interests of Russia, with respect to other nations.

These, says the judicious author of *The Present State of Europe*, are neither so many, nor so complicated, as might be expected, considering the extent and situation of the empire, which gives its monarchs a right to be considered as Asiatic, as well as European powers. The northern parts of the empire, from the frontiers of the Swedish dominions to those of China and Japan, are guarded in such a manner, as to be secure not only from danger, but from apprehension ; having on that side a sea, hitherto impenetrable, and through which a passage, if any could be found, must turn to the benefit, but can never prove of any disadvantage to the subjects of Russia ; which is a point of great consequence, and a blessing scarce known to any other country. The frontiers of the empire towards China are also inaccessible,
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as consisting of desarts impenetrable by armies, but which yield a tolerable passage for caravans ; so that the Russians may always depend on the friendship of the Chinese ; and whenever they apply themselves seriously thereto, may make this friendship turn to their advantage. The Tartars, inhabiting the countries between Persia and Russia, are no longer formidable to this vast empire ; on the contrary, they all respect it, and many of them have voluntarily submitted, and become its vassals. The Caspian sea, and the dominions which the Russians have on that side, give them a fair opening into Persia, which they have already improved so as to gain to themselves a very advantageous trade ; and this, by degrees, may perhaps be extended as far as the East Indies.

It will always be the interest of Russia to cultivate a good understanding with the shah : but in case of a rupture, she would not have much to fear, since, the frontiers being open, she might soon make an end of the war, by letting loose upon them the Tartars, who are her tributaries. The Turks, and their associates the Crim Tartars, are more dangerous enemies : but, at present at least, the circumstances of the Porte will scarce allow her to break with the Russians, who, if such a thing should happen, can never want the power of defending themselves against them, or even of making them sensible of the folly of wantonly seeking a quarrel. The two Christian principalities dependant upon the Ottoman empire, have always a bias in favour of the Russians ; and therefore the Turks run a greater hazard by making war with this, than with any other nation.

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The interests of Russia in Europe are not hard to assign. As to Sweden, it is of great consequence to her to live upon good terms with that crown; and, on the other hand, the superiority of Russia, when forced into a war, has been so apparent, that there is great reason to think the Swedes will continue quiet on that side for a long series of time. It is equally requisite for the court of Petersburg to be upon good terms with the Poles; to which end every proper measure seems to have been taken.

There seems to be no great cause of intercourse between Russia and Denmark, farther than what results from attention to the balance of power in the North, which will always incline a wise administration in this empire, to keep the scales as even as may be between this crown and that of Sweden.

The interests of Russia with respect to the house of Austria, are its most material concern; for while these imperial houses are united, not only by general alliances, but by a due and hearty regard for each others prosperity, neither has much to fear from the Turks: but if they are divided, and the Ottomans should recover their ancient power, these may be formidable to both.

END of the Twenty-First Volume.



